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NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Alexander Dubko, chairman of the Progress Collective Farm, Grodno Region, Byelorussia.

Serik Onlasynov, shepherd, Lenin State Farm, Jambul Region, Kazakhstan.

Hero of Socialist Labour Andrei Trofimuk, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

T.S. Malenkova, assembly line team leader, 25th Congress of the CPSU Works, Smolensk.

V.V. Molozin, track-laying team leader, Urengoi Transport Construction Trust.

Who are the delegates to the 27th Congress of the CPSU? Veterans and young people, men and women of different occupations and nationalities representing all the constituent republics, territories and regions of our vast country. Their backgrounds differ and their careers and experience vary. But they all share the same concern for world peace, for the thriving of their native land, and the fraternal unity of the socialist community. They are all among the foremost in their respective fields of endeavour and have earned the trust of their Party comrades and of the people at large by their selfless creative labour and active participation in public life. Here we introduce some of them to our readers.

Hero of Socialist Labour and U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet deputy Alexander Dubko is the chairman of Progress Collective Farm in Byelorussia. If the farm is renowned far beyond the bounds of the republic it is largely due to his managerial skill, his expertise and his talent as an organizer.

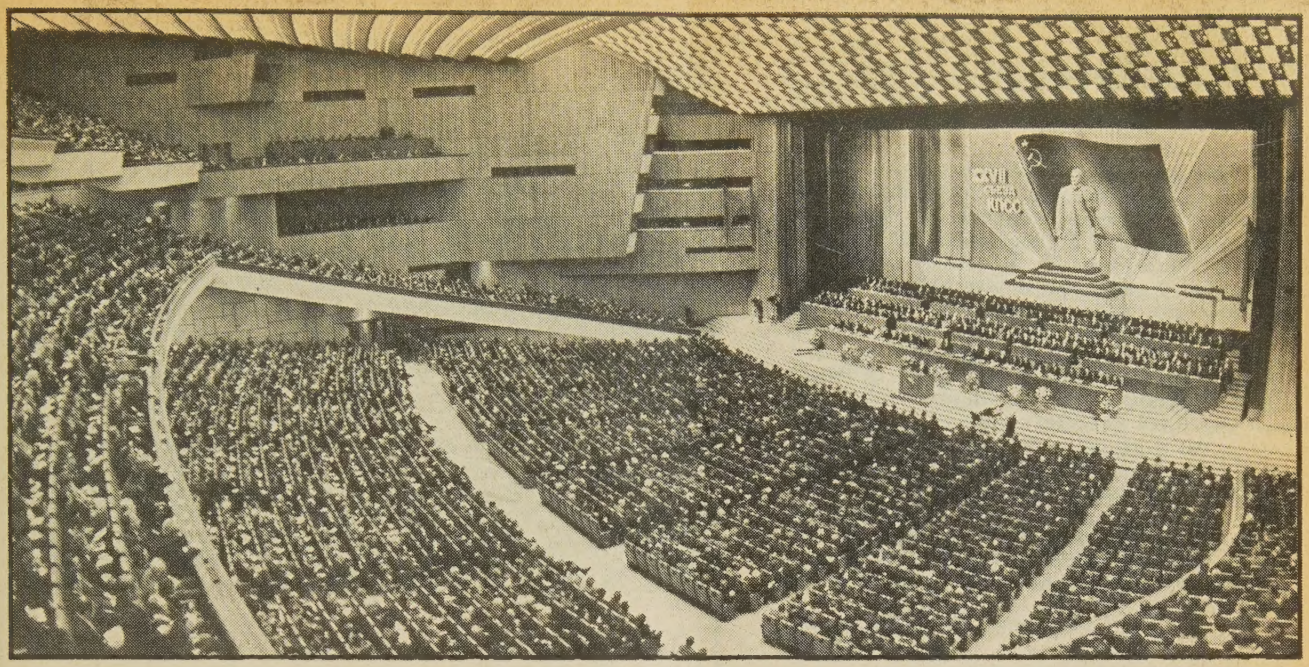
Andrei Trofimuk, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, has twice been awarded a U.S.S.R. State Prize for outstanding scientific accomplishments. The Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian branch of the Academy which he heads is making a significant contribution to the harnessing of Siberia's natural wealth.

Serik Onlasynov, a shepherd at the Lenin State Farm, Jambul Region, Kazakhstan, is a front-runner in his sphere thanks to his experience and

knowledge of the natural and climatic conditions of the region. The new approach he has developed to his ancient vocation and his talent as a mentor of the youth have earned him government awards and medals at the U.S.S.R. Economic Achievements Exhibition.

Milling machine operator Nadezhda Taran of the Altai Motor Works has dedicated herself wholly to the implementation of the Party's programme for

(Continued on the inside back cover)



Moscow, February 25, 1986. The 27th Party Congress in session.

OPENING OF THE 27th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The 27th Congress of the CPSU began its work in a businesslike atmosphere at 10 a.m. on February 25 in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

It was opened by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, who was warmly welcomed by delegates and guests.

Egor Ligachev, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, who was in the chair, announced that, at the Central Committee's invitation, delegations from Communist, Workers', revolutionary democratic, socialist, social democratic, labour and other parties, and representatives of democratic public organizations had arrived for the congress.

The following agenda was approved:

The Central Committee report and the Party's current objectives.

The new text of the Party Programme.

Amendments to the Party Rules.

The political report of the Central Committee. Speaker—Mikhail Gorbachev.

The report of the Central Auditing Commission. Speaker—Gennady Sizov, chairman of the commission.

Guidelines for the country's economic and social development over the period 1986-90 and up to the year 2000. Speaker—Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Elections to central Party bodies.

The delegates agreed that no reports should be made on the first three items on the agenda and that their content should be included in the political report of the Central Committee to the congress.

The political report was delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ We are deeply grateful to Comrade Gorbachev for his proposal for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. My wife and I experienced all the horrors of World War II. It robbed us of the best years of our lives. It was only by a miracle that my wife and son survived. After the war we exerted no little effort to help bring our Dresden back to life. We brought up our four children in the spirit of peace and of friendship for the Soviet Union. We owe the forty peaceful years in large measure to the sage policy of the CPSU and the other Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries. What a joy it is to see the happy childhood of our nine grandchildren. That is why we shall do everything in our power to preserve the peace. Nuclear explosions must not drown out the laughter of children!

The MÜLLER family
Dresden, G.D.R.

◆ If the events of World War II compelled the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to be allies and jointly shed our blood to prevent fascist enslavement, why should we not respond to the challenge of 1986 which demands that we forge another alliance to cope with an even greater danger, nuclear annihilation threatening all life on our planet? Our two countries could compete not in how most efficiently destroy but how best to devote our efforts to provide a better, more secure life for all. The Soviet Union has broadcast to the world a grand programme designed to accelerate the process of improving the well-being of all its peoples. Why should our government not accept this as a challenge and respond with a similar programme?

Charles RIVERS
New York, U.S.A.

◆ The ruling circles in Italy take pride in our civil liberties. But what does this "liberty" amount to in reality? In the first place it means freedom to kill with impunity. Innocent people are slain in trains, at railway stations, in gun battles on the streets between warring mafia gangs. The relatives of the victims wait years for justice to be done. Trials are postponed interminably. There are appeals after appeals, sensational statements and exposures. Then the press takes over. But time passes and everything ends in a tiny item of a few lines to the effect that Mr So and So, arrested some time ago, has been released on bail or placed under house arrest. Honest folk get the impression that in our "free" state one can commit the most foul crimes and by taking advantage of all kinds of legal technicalities escape responsibility.

Silvio SARZI-SARTORI
San Remo, Italy

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CONTENTS

Opening of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union 1

V. Zagladin—**Turning Point** 3

V. Kuznetsov—**The Spirit of Geneva or the Spirit of Fulton!** 7

L. Bezymensky—**Echoes of Drumbeat** (The Past and the Present) 9

DOCUMENTS:

Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Delivered by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev 13

The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union opened in the Kremlin on February 25. Five thousand delegates debated the programme for the country's accelerated development, problems associated with the further strengthening of socialist cooperation and concrete steps to improve the international situation.

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TURNING POINT

Notes of a Delegate

VADIM ZAGLADIN

By the time these notes reach the reader, the 27th Congress of the CPSU will be in the midst of its deliberations. At this writing it is only at its beginning.

CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has just delivered from the rostrum of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses the political report of the Central Committee. Although the congress has recessed, the delegates are in no hurry to disperse—gathered in groups in the aisles, they are engaged in an animated discussion of the report they have just heard. The foreign guests too —and there are a great many of them, 152 delegations from 113 countries—are likewise comparing notes.

There is, of course, nothing surprising in all this. This congress is the fifth in whose work the present writer has taken part. Each of the preceding forums of our Party was a major event and evoked the keenest interest, lively comment and exchange of views. But I believe I will not be mistaken if I say that the present congress will eclipse the preceding ones as regards both impact and character.

The 27th Congress is more than just another meeting of the supreme body of our Party. It is in a class by itself, for it has met at a crucial time in the life of our country—a time of change when old guideposts are replaced by new ones and new methods are asserting themselves in our movement forward, when, in planning our prospects for the next five years, we at the same time look far into the future, give thought to the image of our country as it enters the 21st century.

The congress is taking place at a turning point also in international life, when every country and every people is faced with the question of whether to continue along the lines of confrontation leading to the abyss of nuclear catastrophe or whether a new course should be steered, a course towards lasting peace, towards a comprehensive system of international security.

No one anywhere doubted that the congress would duly examine all these issues, that it would define the stand of the CPSU on both basic domestic and cardinal international problems, that it would put forward a programme of action meriting universal attention.

This certainty stemmed primarily from the performance of the Party since the April 1985 plenum of its Central Committee, which charted a radical turn in its policy, a turn that, while adhering strictly to the time-tested Leninist principles, will give new impetus to the development of our country, a new dimension commensurate with the demands of the end of the 20th century. At the plenum and in the course of subsequent months the Party brought its thinking and activities into line with these demands. And this gave rise to great expectations everywhere.

Today it is clear that these expectations were justified. The political report to the congress delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev showed that our Party indeed has a clear-cut, consistent programme for the future in the sphere of domestic and world affairs.

This programme was worked out by the Central Committee. Each of the issues dealt with in the report was thoroughly considered, moreover, with the participation of the leading Party functionaries and representatives of the workers and farmers, the intellectuals, scientific and cultural workers.

It was not only a matter of preliminary elaboration of the ideas advanced. These ideas were submitted for consideration by the entire membership of the Party, by the entire nation. The CPSU leadership acted in conformity with the Leninist tradition. When preparing for a congress, Lenin said, it is essential to study and generalize the opinions not only of the Communists, but of the non-Party working people. "Only on this condition," he said, "shall we be a real Party, **always** able to express its opinion, and finding the right way to convert a definitely formed **opinion** into the **decisions** of its next congress."

The discussion of the pre-congress documents once again testified to the profound democratism of our Party. Indeed, the discussion in Party bodies (in which 1,800,000 Party members took the floor) was open, frank and businesslike in character. Profoundly realistic and self-critical evaluations were made of the work done since the 26th Congress. The appraisals were exacting and the recommendations for the future were concrete and incisive. Communists boldly criticized stagnation and conservatism wherever these were in evidence, and called for determined effort to improve the style of work of Party organizations.

But as I have already said, the discussion proceeded outside the ranks of the Party as well. Here too it was lively and thorough. Here too the salient

feature was emphasis on a high sense of responsibility and greater conscientiousness. Hundreds of thousands of practical ideas and proposals were advanced.

The nationwide discussion of the drafts of the Party documents clearly demonstrated that the CPSU has the closest of ties with the people, that between the members of the Party and the non-Party people there is an unbreakable link which, moreover, works both ways. The intrinsic unity characteristic of the Soviet socialist society was expressed to the full.

It may confidently be said that the documents the Party submitted to the judgement of the working people have now ceased to be purely Party documents. They have been endorsed by the entire Soviet people.

Needless to say, the political report of the Central Committee, like the documents the congress will discuss and adopt, is a generalization of the ideas of both the Party and the people. What we have all talked about among ourselves, at our workplaces and at home, has now been put before the supreme Party forum. Everything has been brought out into the open. In this too the truly Leninist approach of our Party to the congress is manifest.

"He always, as long as he lived," Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote of Lenin, "attached tremendous importance to Party congresses. He held the Party congress to be the highest authority where all things personal had to be cast aside, where nothing was to be concealed, and everything was to be open and above board." It is in line with this Leninist approach that the political report of the Central Committee to the 27th Congress was compiled.

Before the congress many Western observers, and at times our friends as well, wondered whether we were not being too frank in speaking and writing about our affairs, whether such a frankness might not do us damage.

The entire experience of our Party shows that frankness never has been harmful to the Communist Party, and never can be. In a country governed by the people themselves, a country where society is headed by one party —the Communist Party—criticism and self-criticism are a powerful motive force that makes possible the steady movement of society forward. Criticism and self-criticism are the fuel without which the mighty engine of socialism cannot work.

It should be borne in mind, however, that criticism and self-criticism are for us not the end in itself but a means to the end, a means by which constructive, positive decisions radically advancing our cause can be worked out. This was also the Central Committee's approach to its work in the period since its April 1985 plenum. And it is the approach of the 27th Congress as well.

Here it is in place to recall these words of Lenin's: "...pro-Party Social Democrats draw up resolutions not for the benefit of historians, but to derive **practical** guidance from these resolutions **in their work** of propaganda, agitation and organization."

The political report of the Central Committee charted clear-cut guidelines for its work in the spheres of domestic and foreign policy. What specifically are these guidelines?

There is, of course, no need here to repeat the contents of the political report, and, indeed, it would be impossible to do so, considering the wealth of ideas and proposals this important document contains. I should like to dwell on a few aspects which made the greatest impression on both the delegates and the foreign guests.

No one could remain indifferent to the overall thrust of the political report, in which the emphasis was laid, on the **acceleration of the socio-economic development of the country.** Not only acceleration of growth rates, the quantitative aspect of what we propose to produce and accomplish. It is simultaneously, and perhaps primarily, a matter of qualitative acceleration. The object is to change the very image of the country, to bring it into conformity with the requirements of the approaching 21st century, to change the very life of our people, to heighten its quality, and to meet in far fuller measure the requirements of the all-round development of the individual. This is what we want above all, what we mean by the term "acceleration."

Noteworthy, too, was the profound, truly Marxist dialectics of the political report. The socialist society is a united organism, a united system. For this system to develop it is essential that all its components should likewise develop, that it should forge ahead in its entirety.

The report clearly delineates the prospects for the development of the **productive forces** of society, and here the most important thing is scientific and technological progress, the heightening of the efficiency and quality of production and of the productivity of labour. At the same time, the object is to improve **production relations,** in which respect top priority belongs to the introduction of the necessary changes in the system of economic management—changes that would ensure, on the one hand, a substantial improvement of centralized management and its functioning in the strategic areas, and, on the other, the heightened independence and responsibility of the enterprises and above all of the work collectives in all aspects of their day-to-day activity.

Needless to say, provision is made also for the further improvement of the **superstructure,** of our **political system,** its further democratization, and the promotion of socialist self-government by the people. Here too the Party adheres to the Leninist principle that socialism can develop successfully only when the millions are involved in governmental and public activity. The emphasis in the relevant part of the report is placed on the principles of self-administration in all the spheres of governmental and public life.

All the above-mentioned tasks can, of course, be resolved by various methods, including the technocratic. Our Party's approach, however, is far from technocratism. It sees the principal key to success in activating the human factor, in the widening and deepening of the creative activity of the masses. Strictly speaking, it is in this creative activity that the superiority of the socialist system over all preceding social systems is rooted. Socialism makes the workingman the master of the land and, accordingly, the activity of the working people is the principal driving force of socialist society.

However, for this force to perform its role to the full, the necessary preconditions must be created. Particular note must be made of the sections of the report dealing with the social policy of the Party. These sections make it plain that concern for the well-being of the people is in the centre of the Party's attention. But this concern can yield fruit only if each individual works efficiently, productively, creating the material base for the satisfaction of his requirements. Hence the object of the Party's social policy is to activate the human factor and thereby lay the practical groundwork for giving people a better life, for improving the quality of life.

A crucial factor here is how the Party itself works. The outspoken, sharply-worded section of the report devoted to the functioning of the Party was heard with the keenest interest by the congress delegates and guests. It is the material embodiment, as it were, of the amended Party Rules which provide for enhancing the role of the Party as the leading political force in our society and at the same time lay greater emphasis on its responsibility and the high standards it sets. And this applies primarily to its own work.

It is often said in the West that Communists in the Soviet Union are a privileged category. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In our country to be a member of the Communist Party is an honour. It does not carry any privileges. It implies the obligation to work better, strictly to live up to one's duty in production and in public life, to set an example both on the job and in everyday life.

The fact that the 27th Congress posed the question of accelerating the social and economic development of the country and of the ways and means of achieving this acceleration is in itself testimony to the greater maturity of our Party, of our society, of the entire Soviet people. It is the answer of the members of the Party, of all Soviet people, to the challenge of our turbulent and complex time.

A worthy answer to this challenge is being given also in the sphere of foreign policy.

"Social Democracy," Lenin wrote, "should, at its congresses, **sum up** the periods of social development, **applying** its own Marxist methods of analysis to them and **teaching** other classes to glance back and view political events from the standpoint of **principle**, not from the standpoint of the interests of the moment or the achievements of a few days in the way the bourgeoisie do—the bourgeoisie actually despise all theory and are afraid of any class analysis of recent history."

It is from this Leninist principle that the CPSU Central Committee proceeded in formulating its conclusions relating to domestic policy. It was guided by this principle also in the sphere of international policy.

The nuclear age, the political report points out, dictates new approaches to the forms, means and methods in relations between different social systems, states and regions. The changes that have taken place in the world are so far-reaching and significant that they require a reconsideration and comprehensive analysis of all the factors underlying what is happening in the present-day world, a search for avenues of cooperation between states and in world development in general.

The political report gives a comprehensive, dialectical analysis of the changes in the world over the past decades. These changes have been brought about by the impact of two revolutions—the most deep-going social revolution in human history and the most radical scientific and technological revolution.

The interaction of these two revolutions has, on the one hand, changed the political face of the world. Socialism has developed into a powerful international formation based on the solid foundation of a highly developed economy and a reliable military and political potential. At the same time, the anti-colonial revolutions have to all intents and purposes been carried to completion. Scores of newly independent states are going through a period of true national rebirth. They are being transformed from downtrodden victims of the slave-master policy of imperialism into the makers of their own history.

Besides these changes visible on the map, there have been changes also of another order. The international working-class movement and its vanguard, the communist movement, are growing. A new powerful factor of social progress has come into being in the form of international democratic movements of different types. A differentiation of political forces is in evidence in the capitalist world, including the main centre of imperialism, the United States.

All this is indicative of deep-seated changes in the alignment of forces in the world arena. As a result, the contradictions in world development have entered a new phase and this, in turn, has given new impetus to the class, liberation struggle and also to the resistance offered that struggle by the forces of the old world.

Needless to say, the main contradiction of our time, a contradiction of the greatest importance from the standpoint of the future of humanity, is that between the states of the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist. Capitalism saw in the birth of socialism a "mistake" of history that had to be corrected. The ruling quarters of the West are still bent on this. Hence the efforts to replay the past, to turn the clock back. The fact that the changes in the world are, in the final analysis, irreversible is still far from having been grasped by the rulers of the West.

Besides, the very nature of the old world, the nature of imperialism, impedes an awakening to this reality. By virtue of its intrinsic character and its social organization, imperialism constantly gives rise to aggressive, adventuristic policies and attempts to resolve its own increasingly acute problems at the expense of socialism.

But it should be borne in mind that all this is happening at the time of the scientific and technological revolution, a revolution which has opened unprecedented opportunities for human progress but which at the same time has led to the development of such means of destruction as could wipe out human civilization. The arms race started by imperialism, the political report notes, has resulted in the 20th century ending with world politics faced with the question of whether humanity will be able to avert the nuclear danger or whether the imperialist policy of confrontation will prevail, increasing the probability of a nuclear conflict. Providing the correct answer according with the interests of mankind to the question of what course history will take is very much in the centre of attention of the 27th Congress.

Two elements in the report's foreign policy section merit special attention.

The first is the fundamental precepts of our Party, elaborated on the basis of the decisions of the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which characterize **our Party's overall approach to international affairs at the end of the 20th century.**

The meaning of the fundamental precepts is simple and clear, although some in the West might think them unusual and unwonted. Their logic is a modern logic which conforms to the specific requirements of our time, to the alternative that faces mankind and which has already been discussed above. The alternative is: coexistence or mutual destruction.

In this nuclear age of ours, military technology cannot guarantee anyone's security. Ensuring security is a political task which must be carried out by political means.

With regard to Soviet-U.S. relations, security cannot be other than mutual, and in international relations it can only be universal. Today security is security for all. The absence of security for anyone means the absence of security for all.

Active on the world scene are more than 150 states, each with its own lawful interests. Each is developing and will continue to develop—no one is able to maintain an eternal status quo. This being the case, all of us, without exception, are facing the fundamental task: to learn, without ignoring social,

political and ideological differences, the art and science of living together, of living in a civilized way, that is, in a climate of correct international intercourse and cooperation.

It is not our task here to set forth in detail the entire wealth of the fundamental conclusions contained in the political report of the Central Committee. Readers will find in them many interesting ideas and unusual turns of thought. But the main thing is, as I have said above, to discard the habits and traditions of the past and submit ourselves to the imperatives of the late 20th century.

Now we come to the second crucial element in the political report, pertaining to international affairs. The reference is to the part that sets forth the Soviet Union's concept of what it means to live up to the requirements of our time and of the ways of conducting international politics under present circumstances.

The political report sets forth the principles on which to build a comprehensive international security system. There is no need to repeat them here—the report appears in full in this issue of the magazine. Nevertheless, the following must be underscored.

First, the unprecedented document covers all major spheres of international life and all the main issues to be urgently resolved in a new way, with the specific features of the current international situation taken into account. It also covers the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres.

Second, the report offers approaches and solutions to each of the above-listed problems which could not only alleviate international tension, and not merely reduce the danger of war, but eliminate it altogether, deliver mankind from the threat of war and make it confident of its future in the third millennium.

Third, the implementation of the ideas put forward will make it possible to reduce dramatically the burden of military spending which weighs on mankind today and prevents it from solving many of its problems, including some that are extremely acute.

Fourth, these principles, if put into effect, would ensure the free, independent and safe development of all nations, remove the threat of foreign interference in their internal affairs, and enable every nation to exercise in full its right to choose freely the economic, political and social system which suits it best.

Fifth, the principles of all-embracing national security suggested by the 27th Congress will, if implemented, make for the fullest and most effective exercise of human rights worldwide, including the basic right to life.

The realization of the provisions of the political report of the Central Committee would make it possible to reverse the current trend in world events, and change the face of the modern world. This is not to say that we favour violent changes in any country's system of government. The draft of the new text of the Party Programme, discussed by the congress, emphasizes the need for an international order based on good-neighbourliness and cooperation rather than on armed force, and facilitating an extensive exchange of the latest in science, technology and culture for the benefit of all nations. An order which would make it possible to channel the enormous resources released by the reduction of military spending to constructive ends. An order under which the states embarking on the path of independent development could advance unhindered, without any encroachment from the outside. An order which would provide favourable opportunities for the solution of mankind's global problems by the joint efforts of all states.

We call this order peaceful coexistence in action.

Obviously, the establishment of such a new world order is no easy matter. Many of the undertakings our congress offers are bound to meet with resistance on the part of certain social and political forces, much, one might add, to their detriment.

The proposals put forward by the 27th Congress are the products at once of reason and conscience. Anyone capable of sober thinking cannot but admit that what the Soviet Union proposes is devoid of selfish aims or motives. It goes without saying that the establishment of a new world order based on the principles of peaceful coexistence of all nations is in the Soviet people's interests. It is only ill-wishers who can say that these proposals suit the interests of the Soviet Union alone. The truth is that they would benefit all.

Can the proposals put forward by the congress be implemented? Yes, they can, in spite of all the evident difficulties, because there exist in the world powerful public forces that seek to rebuild the life of mankind along peaceful lines, and are working to do so.

These forces are mentioned in the political report. They are the socialist countries, the newly independent nations, the liberation and democratic movements active virtually worldwide, the working-class movement, most of its political parties, the Communist parties above all, as well as socialist, social democratic and labour parties. These forces also include sober-minded sections of the ruling quarters of the capitalist states.

Representatives of many of the forces mentioned above are present in this hall as guests of the congress. They have not yet voiced their opinion as they are still to address the congress itself, Party meetings, work collectives and research and other institutions. Their previous statements suggest, however, that our congress and the ideas discussed at it have already attracted their close attention. Furthermore, it is safe to say that they have to a certain extent won their support.

The voice of our congress is now being heard all over the planet. It is certain to excite extensive discussion. This is good, for discussions and debates make people reflect on the key issues of today and tomorrow, and reflection usually leads to action. One would wish to hope that action for peace will gain in scope and effectiveness.

As for our Soviet nation, the political report of the Central Committee says that it will go on contributing to the cause of restructuring the world order by its actions, both by its domestic efforts aimed at furthering the cause of socialism and by its efforts on the international scene to establish a comprehensive international security system, the ways of achieving which have been clearly defined at the congress.

■

THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA OR THE SPIRIT OF FULTON?

VLADLEN KUZNETSOV

Forty years ago on March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill delivered the notorious speech in Fulton, Missouri, U.S.A., which amounted to a declaration of cold war on the socialist world. Is it appropriate, the question may arise, to recall the events of forty years ago today, when the danger of another cold war seems to have passed, when the international community's hopes for a new détente have revived and the world is talking of the spirit of Geneva?

Unfortunately, it is now necessary to recall Fulton. The spirit of Geneva is yet to establish itself and be clothed in flesh, whereas the spirit of Fulton is still very much in evidence in the West's policy.

"...For a Century to Come"

What led Winston Churchill to Fulton? In the spring of 1940—and we in the Soviet Union remember this—the British Premier decided to carry on the war against nazi Germany and, later, entered into an alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. for the purpose. Churchill's services in the years of World War II are beyond question. His far-sighted move saved Britain from imminent defeat and brought it into the ranks of the victorious anti-fascist coalition. It was an indisputable triumph for Churchill as a politician and statesman. On the other hand, it can be said with justice that the Fulton speech was a lapse both in political and moral terms. It marked the transformation of the Soviet Union's recent ally into its sworn enemy. Churchill's "ideological manifesto" of the "position of strength" policy had an adverse effect on East-West relations.

The Fulton speech was the quintessence of the sentiments of those in the West who had expected World War II to weaken the Soviet Union and lead to Anglo-American domination in the world. Neither of these things happened, so Churchill called for a "crusade" against socialism and urged the formation of an Anglo-American military-political bloc with a view to ensuring its world domination "not only for our time but for a century to come." In other words, Churchill offered the world the prospect of lasting and total confrontation if not war, which was not ruled out either. Giving free rein to his pathological anti-communism, the British Premier even went so far as to legitimize Goebbels' malicious fiction about the "iron curtain," making it the ideological credo of the "free world." This fiction was subsequently widely exploited in anti-Soviet propaganda.

It was then that Churchill formulated the basic postulates of the West's "position of strength" and military superiority with regard to the U.S.S.R. as the only acceptable and effective policy. Churchill was no longer content with the old British diplomatic doctrine of the balance of power allowing it to play off one country against another in a bid for domination. "The old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound," he said in Fulton. "We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins." Churchill wanted a decisive margin which would enable the West to blackmail and dictate to others.

Recalling this, one cannot help noting that today, 40 years on, certain quarters in the U.S. are following in Churchill's footsteps when they proclaim the upsetting of strategic parity and the achievement of decisive military supremacy to be the objective and doctrine of their country's policy.

In Fulton, Churchill preached the cult of power politics and insisted that the West should give it absolute priority in its strategy and policy. There is, or can be, no alternative to the "position of strength"' policy with regard to the U.S.S.R., Churchill said. Advancing his case, he even referred to the Soviet Union and all but ascribed adulation of strength to it. "From what I have seen [of the Russians]," he said, "I am convinced there is nothing they admire so much as strength."

Churchill has long passed from the scene, but his enthusiasm for strength has not been forgotten in the West, and above all in the United States, where he is occasionally invoked to substantiate Washington's modern concepts of power diplomacy.

Addressing the conference on "the future of the Western community," held at the University of South Carolina in autumn 1985, U.S. Vice-President George Bush went so far as to say that this future should be built in accordance with Churchill's rather than Roosevelt's precepts. George Bush quoted Roosevelt as having said that after victory the leadership of the U.S.S.R. "will work with me for a world of peace and democracy."

Did not Roosevelt have good reasons for voicing this assurance?

Even after the Fulton challenge, Moscow made every effort to avoid confrontation and cold war, offering instead a programme of genuinely peaceful relations and constructive cooperation.

The West preferred to take a different course. "In the end," George Bush said forty years later, quoting the Fulton discourses on strength, "Churchill's wisdom, not Roosevelt's hope, would serve as our guide."

This is only to be regretted. Churchill's "wisdom" has landed the West in the labyrinth of confrontation and the arms race. Churchill's associates and followers have failed in their attempts to "roll back" the U.S.S.R., bleed it white, and bend it to their will. Hard as they have tried to build up their military strength, they have never succeeded in gaining military preponderance over the Soviet Union. It has proved a complete waste of effort and money.

Tenacious Virus

Churchill was a more complex figure than his admirers give him credit for. Fulton was for him a lapse in statesmanship. But he had second thoughts later, when he had to admit that his Fulton recommendations "for a century to come" had not stood the test of even a few postwar years. The Fulton prophet was forced to conclude that there could be no more talk about the "unconditional surrender of the Soviet Union," and that in the event of war both sides would be in a position to "tear the human race, including themselves, into bits."

In February 1951 Churchill said that by letting the Americans set up a base in the southeast of England, Britain was making herself a target, perhaps even the bull's eye. Revisiting America in June 1954, Churchill actually repudiated what he had said in Fulton. "I am

of the opinion that we ought to have a really good try for peaceful coexistence." Somehow, neither George Bush nor other Churchill epigones in the West ever refer to these manifestations of genuine wisdom. They only need Churchill as an apologist of the strategy of strength.

Having a really good try for peaceful coexistence is the essence of the relationship between the two opposite systems. This is the minimum requirement, although the Soviet Union has always striven for the maximum, genuinely friendly confidence-based cooperation with states belonging to the other system in all spheres, and partnership in matters of war and peace. Had the West always followed the principle of peaceful coexistence all along the line, East-West relations would have been free of confrontation, tension and crises.

The anti-Hitler coalition revealed the enormous potential for cooperation between states belonging to opposite systems. If this cooperation had been carried on after the war—jointly won—would the world be facing its present problems?

The Fulton speech was a denunciation of the cooperation the great powers had maintained within the framework of the anti-Hitler coalition. A year later Churchill's programme became the pivot of the Truman Doctrine, U.S. state policy. In 1947 Britain entered into an alliance with France which paved the way for broader anti-communist, anti-Soviet blocs. In 1948 the Western European Union emerged—through London's efforts for the most part. Within a year of that NATO was put together. All Soviet appeals to refrain from forming exclusive blocs and groupings opposed to other states fell on deaf ears.

Over the 40-odd postwar years, relative lulls in East-West relations have been few and far between. Tensions have often been extremely aggravated. The "Fulton virus"—still, alas, tenacious of life in certain government offices—has made itself felt. This virus is largely to blame for the fact that normal international relations are still a long way off.

Relapses into the Fulton strategy manifest themselves today in the continued attempts to gain, come what may, military supremacy over the U.S.S.R. and its Warsaw Treaty partners. The "star wars" programme, in particular, is seen as a shortcut to military-strategic and political world hegemony.

These relapses also show in the intention to exhaust the Soviet Union in the all-out arms race; in the policy of imposing a "technological blockade" on the U.S.S.R. and its socialist allies; in the ultra-modern "neoglobalism" doctrine of U.S. armed interference in the internal affairs of sovereign developing countries and supporting "anti-communist fighters" across the globe. The proponents of this aggressive doctrine see all regional conflicts exclusively through the prism of East-West confrontation and try to make the implementation of disarmament measures dependent on their outcome.

It seems that the West has not yet decided on the principles to proceed from in its relations with the socialist world. Far from being clear-cut, its approach to these relations runs the gamut of varying degrees of confrontation. To put it briefly, the Western (chiefly U.S.) ruling quarters' attitude to the U.S.S.R. and its allies over the past 40-odd years has followed the pattern of "anti-détente—détente—anti-détente." The current trend is towards the abatement of confrontation. Washington consented to the Geneva summit and made a number of statements, which amount to commitments on the inadmissibility of war and the renunciation of attempts to gain military superiority.

The Soviet Union supports this positive trend. Its adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence is steadfast. This is far from saying, of course, that it makes no difference to the Soviet Union what trends prevail in the West in any given period of international development. In forming its attitude to other states, it takes into account the way they treat it at the moment. The character and tone of relations may vary, but in any case the Soviet Union bases them on one and the same foundation—that of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union has never pursued any objectives other than those of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Therefore, for the U.S.S.R. international and interstate relations do not mean blowing hot and cold towards others. The U.S.S.R. favours an even, consistently normal temperature in these relations.

As for the "spirit of Fulton," denounced even by the man who raised it, attempts to cultivate it in the eighties can do nothing but harm.

New Thinking Needed

The world cannot possibly cling to the old ways now that the danger of nuclear war has become a reality. Reliance on armed force alone—and ready recourse to it—can only add to rather than detract from this danger, with the result that the problem of mankind's survival may become impossible to resolve. Those in charge of foreign policy making would be well-advised to stop and ask themselves whether civilization can be preserved by spurring on the arms race and balancing ever more precariously on the brink of war?

As the UNESCO Constitution puts it, the idea of war is conceived in the human mind. However, ideas of peace have the same origin. Our nuclear and space age is not the time for nuclear war—or, indeed, any war, because even the "low-key conflict" the U.S. has suddenly started talking about might well develop into something worse. Neither is the nuclear-missile and space age the time for the suicidal arms race or nuclear confrontation, let alone for seeking military superiority, which can only pave the way for and provoke disaster. This is a time for peace, security and disarmament, for denouncing military rivalry and concentrating exclusively on peaceful cooperation. This is why the Soviet leadership insists that the blinkers of power politics be cast off, the inertia, dogmas and clichés of confrontation be jettisoned, and that a new look be taken at international developments, affairs and relations with a view to jointly working for security and strategic stability.

The Soviet Union is not content merely to favour such a new and bold approach, but actually takes it. This is evidenced by its 15-year programme for complete and universal nuclear disarmament under strict international control, and by its call to stop the development of space weapons. Even opponents and critics of this programme have to admit that it is unprecedented in scale and historic importance. The Soviet Union has set a graphic example of truly innovatory foreign policy thinking which can be summarized in the idea that the world should depend for its security not on nuclear or other arms but on their absence and that the factor of nuclear "containment" or "deterrence," regarded in certain Western circles as a safeguard of peace, should be replaced by the factor of nuclear disarmament, global security and stability. The Soviet Union calls upon the Western powers to proceed from the premise that in our time there can be no secure U.S.A. without a secure U.S.S.R., no secure NATO without a secure Warsaw Treaty Organization, and that without their mutual security there can be no security at all.

■

In 1947 the United States was hatching a plan to invade the Iberian Peninsula

ECHOES OF DRUMBEAT

LEV BEZYMENSKY
New Times Political Analyst

Suppose you were handed a document drawn up by the military authorities of Country A relating to Country B giving a detailed description of the coastline of Country B pinpointing possible landing sites, an evaluation of the port, railway and highway capacities, and an enumeration and charts of airfields as well as an assessment of landing facilities for the air forces of both countries.

What would you say the purpose was of such a document? Would it not strike you as a plan for the invasion of Country B by Country A? What other object could it have?

Country A in the given case is the United States, and Country B, Spain. The enumeration of the sites for U.S. landing operation in Spain and the other data about Spanish ports, roads and the like were compiled in August 1947 on instructions from the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. The instructions were issued to the Joint War Plans Committee, whence the document's designation—J.W.P.C. 465/2 (the figure "2" would suggest that this was the second version of the master plan). Declassified in 1976, it consists of 62 pages and a number of annexes (A—physiography and characteristics of the area terrain; B—Spanish army dispositions; C—Portuguese army dispositions; D—railway capacities, Iberian Peninsula; E—highway capacities; F—port capacities, and precise maps and descriptions of airfields in Spain, Portugal, Southern France and North Africa). And, finally, on page 37, the purpose of the operation, code-named Drumbeat: **"to occupy the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula."**

Occupy? Does this mean that in 1947 the United States proposed to put an end to the Franco fascist dictatorship by military action?

Let us not jump to conclusions.

Spain and the U.S.

To understand the purpose of Operation Drumbeat it is in place to recall some of the political realities of those now distant years.

At the Potsdam Conference on August 1, 1945, U.S. President Harry Truman affixed his signature to a protocol which went on record that the three powers would not favour any application for membership in the United Nations put forward by the Spanish government of that time which, "having been founded with the support of the axis powers, does not, in view of its origins, its nature, its record and its close association with the aggressor states, possess the qualifications necessary to justify such membership." This decision was welcomed the world over. In December 1946 the U.N. General Assembly recommended the members of the world community to deny the Franco government the right to join international organizations set up by the United Nations or connected with it. The U.N. asked all of its members to recall their ambassadors and envoys from Madrid at once.

The U.S. followed this recommendation. However, it was nobody's secret that influential U.S. economic and political quarters were already contemplating a change of policy towards Franco Spain. This was in line with the cold-war policy initiated by the U.S. Spain too was allotted a place in this war.

On December 17, 1946, the New York Herald Tribune carried an article clearly indicating that the U.S. regarded Spain as a military base. It cited a statement by Alvarez del Vayo, former Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic, blaming the United States for Franco's remaining in power. The U.S., del Vayo said, saw in Spain an ideal military and naval base in the event of war with Russia. The Chicago Sun was even more definitive on this score:

Preparation for war, the paper said, **makes it essential to look for bases and allies. U.S. bases in Europe should be in Great Britain, France and Spain. America should do business with Franco in Spain since he controlled Spain and the U.S. needed Spain.**

On May 15, 1947, the U.S. Congress adopted the notorious Truman doctrine. Many historians note that it was this "doctrine" that paved the way to the restoration of relations between the U.S. and Spain and to the subsequent Spanish-American agreements on economic and military cooperation after the signing of which the caudillo triumphantly exclaimed in an intimate circle: "At last I have won the war in Spain!"

As regards the Franco regime, even before the end of the war its leaders began to switch their allegiance from Germany, which was going down to defeat, to the anti-communist circles in the West. Thus, early in 1943 Franco told Prince Hohenlohe, a political emissary entrusted with liaison between Himmler's department and Allen Dulles, that the "approach of the communist menace was the core of the European problem." And he frightened Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Ambassador, by telling him that when the war ended, the Soviet forces would not abide by their allied commitments but would push on to the Rhine and the English Channel. In his turn, Hoare assured Franco that Britain and the U.S. would leave occupation forces in the areas they had

captured "as a guarantee against anarchy and chaos."

As far back as December 1945 Dolores Ibarruri, speaking for the Spanish Communists, warned:

"when German imperialism was on the ascendancy, Franco sold Spain into bondage to it, and now, hoping to remain in power, he is selling it to new masters."

The prediction proved accurate. As Franco himself boasted,

"Spain will be a better bastion of defence for the West than France, and the United States, if it wishes, can get bases in Spain."

It was in this situation that the plan compiled in August 1947 came into being.

"To Avoid a Misconception..."

The Joint War Plans Committee set the "drums rolling" with this at first glance curious reservation:

"This paper ... should be read carefully in order to avoid the grave misconception that the study is based on an assumption of hostilities as of any particular date," a note by the J.W.P.C. secretariat read. **"In fact, there is no intelligence support for such an assumption and very little such support for even a possibility of hostilities during the three-year period under consideration."**

The meaning of the reservation is revealed in the sections of the memorandum dealing with the occasion for a U.S. landing in Spain and Portugal. That occasion was to be nothing more nor less than a Soviet invasion of the Iberian Peninsula!

The authors of the "study" painted the following blood-chilling picture. The Soviet Union starts a war, and 50 Soviet divisions close in on the frontier between France and Spain. Then the thrust is carried to the very heart of Spain, the Mediterranean is closed to the Western powers, control is established over the country and the West denied a bridgehead in Europe. All this is dwelt upon in great detail. For instance, the U.S.S.R. not only invades the Iberian Peninsula but simultaneously launches an air offensive against Britain and dispatches its submarines from the Baltic and Black seas to Spanish coastal waters. Within 45 days the Soviet divisions overrun West Germany and France and by the end of the second month reach the Pyrenees and cross them in another month.

But on page 32, after the blow-by-blow account of a "possible Soviet invasion," we find this:

"Consequently, it is concluded that in the event of war, within the next three years, it is improbable that the U.S.S.R. would make an early invasion of Spain."

So much for all the idle speculation. Indeed, any rational-minded person could hardly come to any other conclusion. Let me cite the opinion of a distinguished American political figure:

"In a large portion of the territory of European Russia, the devastation had to be seen to be believed. Reconstruction alone was obviously going to take several years. The need for peace, and the thirst for peace, among the Russian people was overwhelming.... In these circumstances, there was simply no way that the Soviet Union could appear as a military threat."

Thus George Kennan, one of the architects of the U.S. cold-war policy. True, he wrote this many years later—in January 1986.

The Real Purpose

And so "defence against a Soviet invasion" as an excuse for Operation Drumbeat can be dismissed. It is an excuse long used by authors of all aggressive plans to cover up their designs. Let us consider the real purpose of the operation.

J.W.P.C. 465 2 offered several variants, ranging from military and economic aid to the Franco regime to landings in Spain (there were only indirect references to a possible landing in Portugal). The minimum offered was economic support, which would

"permit Spain to improve her railroads, roads, airfields and to increase her industrial output, thereby indirectly increasing her military strength," which would **"strengthen the anti-communist position."**

The planners did not stop there. They proposed direct cooperation with the Spanish army, specifically, the initial deployment in Spain of 12 U.S. (or British) divisions as well as 900 combat planes. Carrier aircraft could

"cover allied shipping movements to Spanish ports, could provide support to ground forces on the coastal plains of the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean."

The following air strength would be required:

4 light bomber groups	256 planes
7 fighter groups	525 "
1 tactical reconnaissance group	61 "
4 all-weather squadrons	48 "
total:	890 planes

According to the Pincher plan, the Mediterranean was one point of depature for aggression against the Soviet Union.

But even this was not enough for the Pentagon. The plan, therefore, provided, as has been mentioned above, for the **occupation of the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula.**

How was this to be done? At that time, in 1947, there were neither American bases nor American troops

in Spain. This explains why the Drumbeat plan went in such detail into the possibility of landing on the Spanish and Portuguese coasts. A special annex to J.W.P.C. 465/2, entitled "Hydrography of the Iberian Peninsula Coastline," was devoted to this. It contains a description of the coastline under the headings: sector, sea approach, coastal terrain and beaches.

The sectors examined were: the Cantabrian coast (French border to Ribadeo), the Galician coast (Ribadeo to the Portuguese border), the Portuguese coast, the southern coast of Spain (Portuguese boundary to Malaga) and the Mediterranean coast (Malaga to the French border).

Here is a sampling from the annex.

Sector	Sea approach	Coastal Terrain	Beaches
Cabo Roche to Malaga	Usually free of off-shore hazards; reefs or shoals often inside 30-foot curve	Rugged with coastal plain; numerous beaches	(Beaches in area are covered by Strategic Engineering Study No. 65, March 1943.) Best landing areas indicated are: (1) Tarifa (2) Getares Bay (3) Algeciras (4) Estepona (5) Marabella (6) Fuengirola (7) Malaga

All told on the Spanish and Portuguese coastline the Americans pinpointed 28 suitable landing sites on the Cantabrian coast, 28 on the Galician, 65 on the Portuguese, 18 on the southern, and 41 on the Mediterranean coast. Points most suitable for landing troops and materiel (up to 35 divisions) were specially indicated. No less detailed information was set forth in the Annex listing airfields suitable for heavy and medium bombers and fighter aircraft. In particular, it was established that 49 airfields in Spain could receive two groups of American heavy bombers, 6 groups of fighter-bombers and troop carriers, and 40 groups of light transport planes.

The document also contained a preliminary operations plan according to which the divisions of the U.S. landing force were to emerge on the coast north of Cadiz—La Ronda—Marabella line. The authors of the plan reasoned thus:

"Although occupation of the southern tip would not effect complete control over the entire western Mediterranean, it should effect a reasonable degree of control over the most critical point which is the Strait of Gibraltar.... It is estimated that a force of 16 U.S. divisions or their equivalent would be required for the defence of this position."

Occupation Plan

Against whom was the U.S. landing force to operate? Against the mythical Soviet divisions? Certainly not.

The point is that in the early postwar years the Pentagon was not at all sure of the stability of the Franco dictatorship. Towards the end of the war Allen Dulles, in charge of U.S. intelligence in Europe and later to become CIA director, reported to his superiors that

a gigantic social revolution was maturing in Europe as the inevitable consequence of the earthquake that had shaken the continent over the previous four years.

It is not surprising that Washington feared that the "earthquake" would not bypass Spain. In 1946 Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles voiced his anxieties in an interview.

He said that if the Franco government were removed by force or as a result of pressure from without, another civil war was very likely to break out, in which case a new Spanish government would in all likelihood be subordinated to elements inspired by the Communists.

Such a prospect did not appeal to the Pentagon top brass. It is not by chance that General Omar Bradley, postwar Chief of the U.S. Army Staff, and then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, declared **that Spain was a vitally important strategic point for the Western powers, and if something were not done in the near future to strengthen Spain militarily and economically the U.S. could not expect to retain control over the eastern Mediterranean in the event of a future war.**

In their turn the authors of J.W.P.C. 465/2 evaluated the situation thus:

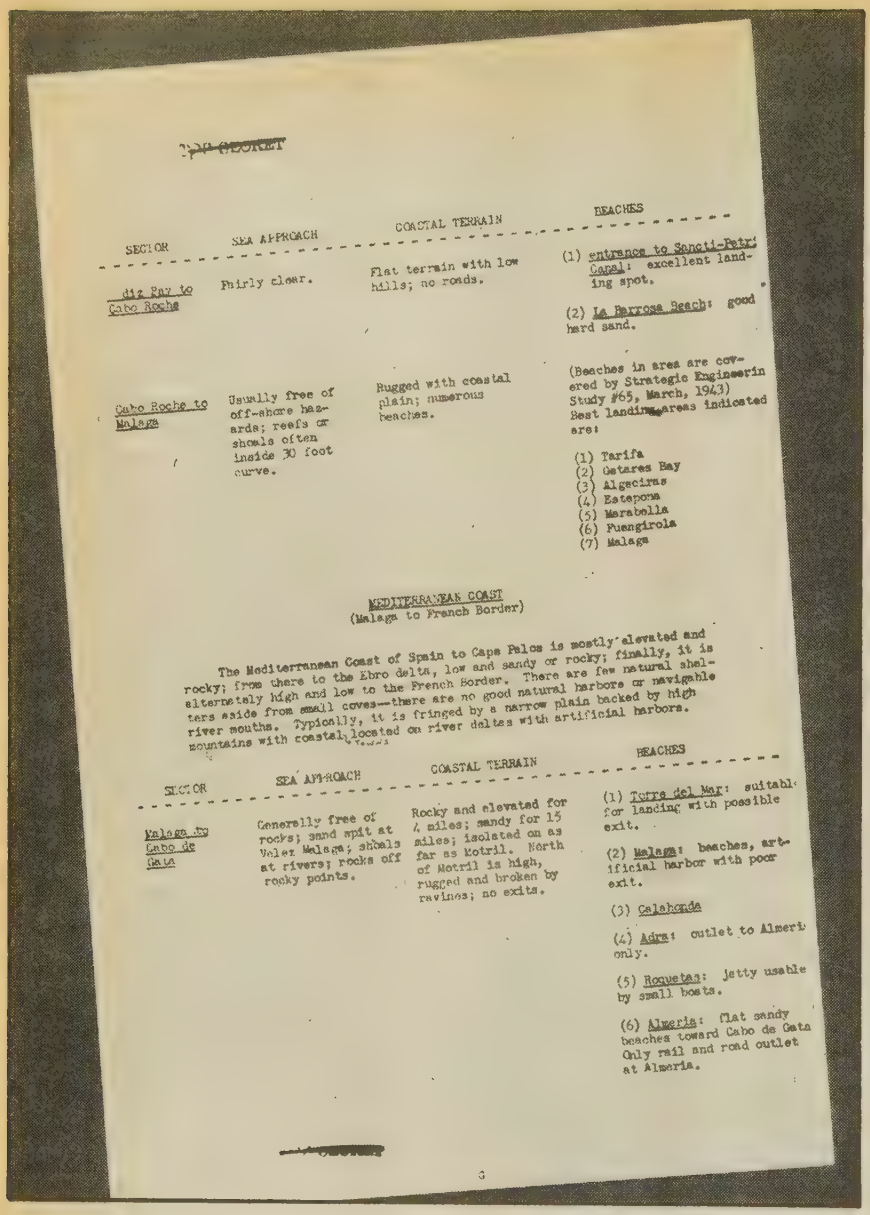
"The Franco government has been supported by a powerful group—the Army, the Church, the large landholders and the conservative business and financial classes. It has maintained strong police control over dissident elements.... Masses of the Spanish people, hating Falange rule, but dreading another civil war, have had no weapons to enforce their will. A myriad of clandestine political and labour groups are active but unable to achieve cooperation among themselves or gain the essential support of the Army for a political change."

But what if the situation did change? Judging by the memorandum, in 1947 the Pentagon hoped that the "post-Franco government" would be anti-communist, but at the same time feared the growing influence of the Communist Party and all other democratic elements, which, in the opinion of the memorandum's authors, would lead to another civil war and "result in reducing still further the world influence of the British Empire and indirectly that of the United States." Thus the concealed object of Operation Drumbeat was to intervene if need be in Spanish affairs, render economic and military support (all the way to occupation of the country) to Franco himself or any other regime that would suit the United States.

The Context of Aggression

The emphasis ad infinitum on the "Soviet threat" theme in the Drumbeat plan cannot of course be taken seriously. But neither can the detailed exposi-

How American troops landed—not in Spain but in Normandy.



~~TOP SECRET~~

SECTOR	SEA APPROACH	COASTAL TERRAIN	BEACHES
Diz Paz to Cabo Rocha	Fairly clear.	Flat terrain with low hills; no roads.	(1) entrance to Sancti-Petri Canal: excellent landing spot. (2) La Barrosa Beach: good hard sand.
Cabo Rocha to Malaga	Usually free of off-shore hazards; reefs or shoals often inside 30 foot curve.	Rugged with coastal plain; numerous beaches.	(Beaches in area are covered by Strategic Engineerin Study #65, March, 1943) Best landing areas indicated are: (1) Tarifa (2) Getares Bay (3) Algeciras (4) Estepona (5) Marabella (6) Fuengirola (7) Malaga

MEDITERRANEAN COAST
(Malaga to French Border)

The Mediterranean Coast of Spain to Cape Palos is mostly elevated and rocky; from there to the Ebro delta, low and sandy or rocky; finally, it is alternately high and low to the French Border. There are few natural shelters aside from small coves—there are no good natural harbors or navigable river mouths. Typically, it is fringed by a narrow plain backed by high mountains with coastal located on river deltas with artificial harbors.

SECTOR	SEA APPROACH	COASTAL TERRAIN	BEACHES
Malaga to Cabo de Gata	Generally free of rocks; sand spit at Velez Malaga; shoals at rivers; rocks off rocky points.	Rocky and elevated for 4 miles; sandy for 15 miles; isolated on as far as Motril. North of Motril is high, rugged and broken by ravines; no exits.	(1) Torre del Mar: suitable for landing with possible exit. (2) Malaga: beaches, artificial harbor with poor exit. (3) Calahonda (4) Adra: outlet to Almeria only. (5) Roquetas: jetty usable by small boats. (6) Almeria: flat sandy beaches toward Cabo de Gata Only rail and road outlet at Almeria.

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A page from document J.W.P.C. 465/2.

tion of concrete measures in J.W.P.C. 465/2 be dismissed as merely the fruit of the fevered imagination or amateur exercises on the part of the Joint War Plans Committee.

A clue to the seeming contradiction here is provided by a marginal note at the beginning of the memorandum—a reference to another document compiled by the same top U.S. military planning body designated J.W.P.C. 432. This was a far more comprehensive war plan endorsed in 1946 by the U.S. military and political leadership and code-named Pincher. An examination of Pincher will dispel many seeming incongruities.

Pincher was one of the first plans for nuclear war against the Soviet Union at a time when the United States had the monopoly on the atom bomb. Its purpose? Let us cite J.W.P.C. 432.

"By military action, in conjunction with our Allies, impose upon the U.S.S.R. peace terms acceptable to the United States and her Allies....

"The accomplishment of the mission is dependent on (1) total mobilization of United States and Allied manpower and resources and (2) careful exploitation of United States and Allied superiority in means and methods of warfare....

"It is possible that overwhelming destruction wrought in the U.S.S.R. by atomic bombs at the very onset of hostilities may bring about an immediate offer of capitulation under conditions which would be acceptable to the United States and her Allies. However, since such a result is not certain, consideration, in broad terms at least, should be given such measures as may be necessary for the prosecution of the war beyond the initial stages.

"And conversely, consideration should be given to the military requirement for establishing and maintaining effective Allied control over the U.S.S.R."

The Pentagon generals' intentions—to wipe out the Soviet state and ensure themselves world domination through atomic war—could hardly be stated more plainly than in this cynical document. Thus, the Drumbeat plan was only part of the overall design, and consequently all the talk in it about the U.S. having to engage Soviet divisions somewhere near Gibraltar within three or even six months makes no sense whatever. For the Soviet Union was to be subjected to annihilating atomic bombing at the very start of the war.

There is direct mention of Spain in the Pincher plan, in which it was described as a potential ally of the United States. It also spoke of the need for the U.S. to operate from existing bases to "protect" the lines of communication in the Atlantic, Pacific and through the Mediterranean." It all fits in: the Pentagon, uncertain of the fate of the Franco regime, wanted at all costs to ensure itself a Spanish beachhead in the event of the outbreak of hostilities.

It may be objected: would it occupy the territory of a potential ally? Well, there was a precedent, and the target of such action had been Spain. Nazi archive documents reveal that Hitler and the Wehrmacht generals—despite their friendship with Franco—planned to invade the Iberian Peninsula and to occupy Spain in order to instal a still more obedient stooge—General Muños Grandes. Incidentally, the nazi general Reinhardt Gehlen, who entered American service in 1945, could well have given the Pentagon a detailed account of this plan, originally code-named Isabella and later Ilona. From Isabella it was only one step to Drumbeat.

* * *

Forty years have passed. Franco is gone and Spain has taken a new road. However, there still are—mostly outside Spain—political forces who would like to see that country in the role of a springboard for foreign powers, this time as the Iberian base of NATO. The people of Spain will soon be deciding the issue. Will they hear the "drumbeat" and remember how the Pentagon generals rode roughshod over the destiny of this great nation?

POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE 27th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Delivered by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Mikhail GORBACHEV

February 25, 1986

Comrades Delegates,
Esteemed guests,

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has gathered at a sharp turning point in the life of the country and the contemporary world as a whole. We are beginning our work with a deep understanding of our responsibility to the Party and the Soviet people. It is our task to make a broad Leninist assessment of the times we are living in, and to work out a realistic, thoroughly weighed programme of action that would organically combine the grandeur of our aims with the realism of our capabilities, and the Party's plans with the hopes and aspirations of every person. The resolutions of the 27th Congress will determine both the character and the rate of our movement towards a qualitatively new condition of the Soviet socialist society for years and decades ahead.

The congress is to discuss and adopt a new edition of the Programme of the CPSU, amendments to the Party Rules, and the Main Guidelines for economic development in the next five years and the longer term. I need hardly mention what enormous importance these documents have for our Party, our state and our people. Not only do they assess the past and define the urgent tasks, but also provide a glimpse into the future. They speak of what the Soviet Union will be like as it enters the 21st century, of the image of socialism and its positions in the international arena, of the future of humanity.

Soviet society has gone a long way in its development since the present Party Programme was adopted. We have, to all intents and purposes, built the whole country anew, have made tremendous headway in the economic, cultural and social fields, and have raised generations of builders of the new society. We have blazed the trail into outer space for humanity. We have secured strategic military parity and have thereby substantially restricted imperialism's aggressive plans and capabilities to start a nuclear war. The positions of our Motherland and of world socialism in the international arena have grown considerably stronger.

The path travelled by the country, its economic, social and cultural achievements convincingly confirm the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and socialism's tremendous potential as embodied in the progress of Soviet society. We can be legitimately proud of everything that has been accomplished in these years of intense labour and struggle.

While duly commending the achievements, the leadership of the CPSU considers it to be its duty to tell the Party and the people honestly and frankly about the deficiencies in our political and practical activities, the unfavourable tendencies in the economy and the social and moral sphere, and about the reasons for them. For a number of years the deeds and actions of Party and government bodies tailed behind the needs of the times and of life—not only because of objective factors, but also for reasons above all of a subjective order. The problems in the country's development built up more rapidly than they were being solved. The inertness and fossilization of the forms and methods of administration, the decline of dynamism in our work, and an escalation of bureaucracy—all this was doing no small damage. Signs of stagnation had begun to surface in the life of society.

The situation called for change, but a peculiar psychology—how to improve things without changing anything—began to take the upper hand in the central bodies and, for that matter, at local level as well. But that cannot be done, comrades. Stop for an instant, as they say, and you fall behind a mile. We must not evade the problems that have arisen. That sort of attitude is too costly to the country, the state and the Party. So let us say it loud and clear!

The priority task is to overcome the negative factors in society's socio-economic development as rapidly as possible, to impart to it the essential dynamism and acceleration, to draw to the maximum on the lessons of the past so that the decisions we adopt for the future should be explicity clear and well thought-out, and the concrete actions purposeful and effective.

The situation has come to a turning point not only in internal but also in **external** affairs. The changes in the present world are so deep-going and significant that they require a reappraisal and comprehensive analysis of all factors. The situation created by the nuclear confrontation calls for new approaches, methods and forms of relations between the different social systems, states and regions.

The arms race started by imperialism has resulted in the 20th century ending with world politics faced with the question of whether humanity will be able to avert the nuclear danger or whether the policy of confrontation will prevail, increasing the probability of a nuclear conflict. The capitalist world has not abandoned the ideology and policy of hegemonism, its rulers have not yet lost the hope of taking social revenge and continue to entertain illusions of superior strength. The sober view of what is going on is hewing its way forward with great difficulty through a dense thicket of prejudices and preconceptions in the thinking of the ruling class. But the complexity and acuteness of this moment in history makes it increasingly vital to outlaw nuclear weapons, destroy them and other weapons of mass annihilation completely, and improve international relations.

The fact that the Party has deeply understood the fundamentally new situation inside the country and in the world arena, that it is profoundly conscious of its responsibility for the country's future, and has the will and resolve to carry out the needed change, is borne out by the adoption at the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the **decision to accelerate the socio-economic development of our society.**

Formulating the long-term and fundamental tasks, the Central Committee has consistently been guided by Marxism-Leninism, the truly scientific theory of social development. It expresses the vital interests of the working people, and the ideals of social justice. It derives its vitality from its eternal youth, its constant capacity for development and creative generalization of the new facts and phenomena, and from the experience of revolutionary struggle and social reconstruction.

Any attempt at turning the theory by which we are guided into an assortment of rigid schemes and prescriptions valid everywhere and in all contingencies is most definitely contrary to the essence and spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin wrote back in 1917 that Marx and Engels had rightly ridiculed the "mere memorizing and repetition of 'formulas' that at best are capable only of marking out **general** tasks which are necessarily modifiable by the **concrete** economic and political conditions of each particular period of the historical process." Those are the words, comrades, that everyone of us must ponder and act upon.

The **concrete** economic and political situation we are in, and the particular period of the historical process that Soviet society and the whole world are going through, require that the Party and its every member display their creativity, their capacity for innovation and ability to transcend the framework of habitual but already outdated notions.

A broad, outspoken and constructive examination of all the key problems of our life and of Party policy has taken place during the discussion of the pre-congress documents. We have come to the congress enriched by the wisdom and experience of the whole Party, the whole people. We can now see more clearly what has to be done and in what order, and what levers we must set in motion for our progress to acquire the desired acceleration.

Many things, in fact everything, will now depend on how effectively we succeed in using the advantages and possibilities of the socialist system, its economic power and social potential, in updating the obsolescent social patterns and the style and methods of work, in bringing them abreast of the changed conditions. Only in this way can we increase the might of our country, raise the material and spiritual life of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level, and enhance the constructive influence of the example of socialism as a social system on world development.

We look to the future confidently, because we clearly see our tasks and the ways to carry them out. We look to the future confidently, because we rely on the powerful support of the people. We look to the future confidently, because we are acting in the interests of the socialist Fatherland, in the name of the great ideals to which the Communist Party has dedicated itself wholeheartedly.

I.

THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD: ITS MAIN TENDENCIES AND CONTRADICTIONS

Comrades, the draft Programme of the Party contains a thorough analysis of the main trends and features of the current development of the world. It is not the purpose of the Programme to anticipate the diversity of the concrete developments of the future. That would be a futile exercise. But here is another, no less accurate point: if we want to follow a correct, scientifically grounded policy, we must clearly understand the key tendencies of the current reality. To penetrate deep into the dialectic of the events, into their objective logic, to draw the right conclusions that reflect the motion of the times, is no simple matter, but it is imperatively necessary.

Before the October Revolution, referring to the capitalist economy alone, Lenin noted that the sum-total of the changes in all their ramifications could not have been grasped even by seventy Marxes. But, Lenin continued, Marxism has discovered "the **laws** ... and the **objective** logic of these changes and of their historical development ... in its chief and basic features."

The modern world is complicated, diverse and dynamic, and shot through with contending tendencies and contradictions. It is a world of the most intricate alternatives, anxieties and hopes. Never before has our home on earth been exposed to such great political and physical stresses. Never before has man exacted so much tribute from nature, and never has he been so vulnerable to the forces he himself has created.

World developments confirm the fundamental Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the history of society is not a sum of fortuitous elements, that it is not a disorderly "Brownian motion" but a law-governed onward process. Not only do its contradictions pass sentence on the old world, on everything that impedes the advance; they are also the source, the motive force behind the progress of society in the setting of struggle that is inevitable as long as exploitation and exploiting classes exist.

The liberation revolutions triggered by the Great October Revolution are determining the image of the 20th century. However considerable the achievements of science and technology, and however great the influence on the life of society of rapid scientific and technological progress, nothing but the social and spiritual emancipation of man can make him truly free. And no matter what difficulties, objective or artificial, the old world may raise, the course of history is irreversible.

The social changes of the century are altering the

conditions for the further development of society. New economic, political, scientific, technical, internal and international factors are beginning to operate. The interconnection between states and between peoples is increasing. And all this is setting new, especially tough, demands upon every state, whether in foreign policy, in economic and social activity, or the spiritual image of society.

The progress of our time is rightly identified with socialism. **World socialism** is a powerful international entity with a highly developed economy, substantial scientific resources, and a dependable political and military potential. It accounts for more than one third of humanity and consists of dozens of countries and peoples advancing in every way the intellectual and moral wealth of man and society. A new way of life has taken shape, based on the principles of socialist justice, with neither oppressors nor oppressed, neither exploiters nor exploited, where power belongs to the people. Its distinctive features are collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, triumph of the ideas of freedom, unbreakable unity between the rights and duties of every member of society, the dignity of the individual, and true humanism. Socialism is a realistic option open to all humanity, an example projected into the future.

Socialism sprang up and was built in countries that were far from economically and socially advanced at that time, differing greatly from one another in mode of life and their historical and national traditions. Each one of them advanced to the new social system along its own way, confirming Marx's prediction about the "infinite variations and gradations" of the same economic basis in its concrete manifestations.

The way was neither smooth nor simple. It was exceedingly difficult to raise the backward or ruined economy, to teach millions of people to read and write, to provide them with a roof over their heads, with food and free medical aid. The very novelty of the social tasks, the ceaseless military, economic, political and psychological pressure of imperialism, the need for tremendous efforts to ensure defence—all this could not fail to influence the course of events, their character, and the rate at which the socio-economic programmes and transformations were carried into effect. Nor were mistakes in politics, and various subjectivist deviations, avoided.

But such is life; it always takes the shape of diverse contradictions, sometimes quite unexpected ones. Much more important is it that socialism has demonstrated its ability to resolve social problems on a fundamentally different basis than before, namely a collectivist basis, that it has brought the countries to higher levels of development, and has given the working people a decent and secure life.

Socialism is continuously improving social relations, multiplying its achievements purposefully, building up the impact and credibility of its example, and demonstrating the real humanism of the socialist life style. By so doing, it is erecting an increasingly strong barrier to the ideology and policy of war and militarism, reaction and violence, to all forms of man-hating, and is actively furthering social progress. It has grown into a powerful moral and material force and has shown what opportunities are arising for modern-day civilization.

The course of social progress is tied in closely with **anti-colonial** revolutions, national liberation movements, the renascence of quite a few countries, and the emergence of dozens of new ones. Having won political independence, they are working hard to overcome backwardness, poverty, and sometimes desperate misery—the entire painful legacy of their past slavery. Once downtrodden objects of imperialist policy are now making history by themselves.

Social progress is expressed in the development of the **international communist and working-class movement** and in the growth of the new massive democratic movement of our time, including the anti-war and anti-nuclear movement. It is evident, too, in the stratification of political forces in the capitalist world, notably the U.S.A., the principal centre of imperialism. There, progressive tendencies are forcing their way forward through a system of monopolistic totalitarianism, exposed to the continuous pressure of organized reactionary forces, including their enormous propaganda machine which loosens avalanches of stupefying misinformation upon people.

Marx compared progress in exploiting society to "that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink but from the skulls of the slain." He amplified: "In our days everything seems pregnant with its contrary. Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labour, we behold starving and overworking it. The new-fangled sources of wealth, by some strange weird spell, are turned into sources of want. The victories of art seem bought by the loss of character. At the same pace that mankind masters nature, man seems to become enslaved to other men or to his own infamy. Even the pure light of science seems unable to shine but on the dark background of ignorance. All our invention and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and in stultifying human life into a material force."

The historical sweep, accuracy and depth of Marx's analysis is amazing. It has, perhaps, become still more relevant as applied to the capitalist reality of the 20th century than it was in the 19th. On the one hand, the swift advance of science and technology has opened up unprecedented possibilities for mastering the forces of nature and improving humanity's conditions of life. On the other hand, the "enlightened" 20th century is going down in history as a time marked by such imperialist outgrowths as the most devastating wars, an orgy of militarism and fascism, genocide, and the destitution of millions of people. Ignorance and obscurantism go hand in hand in the capitalist world with signal achievements of science and culture. That is the society we have to live side by side with, looking for ways of cooperation and mutual understanding. Such is the command of history.

The progress of humanity is also directly connected with the **scientific and technological revolution** which matured slowly and gradually, and then, in the final quarter of the century, gave a start to the gigantic accretion of man's material and spiritual resources. They were of two kinds. A qualitative leap was registered in humanity's productive forces. But there was also a qualitative leap in means of destruction, in military matters, "endowing" man for the first time in history with the physical capacity to destroy all life on earth.

The facets and consequences of the scientific and technological revolution vary in the different socio-political systems. The capitalism of the 1980s, the capitalism of the age of electronics and information science, computers and robots, is leaving more millions of people, including young and educated people, without jobs. Wealth and power are being increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. Militarism is battening hugely on the arms race, and is seeking to gain control little by little over the political levers of power. It is becoming the ugliest and the most dangerous monster of the 20th century; it is converting the most advanced scientific and technical ideas into weapons of mass destruction.

To the developing countries the scientific and technological revolution is setting this acute question: will they be able to enjoy the achievements of science and technology in full measure in order to gain strength for combating neocolonialism and imperialist exploitation or will they remain on the periphery of world development? The scientific and technological revolution shows in bold relief that many socio-economic problems impeding progress in that part of the world are unresolved.

Socialism has everything it needs to place present-day science and technology at the service of the people. But it would be wrong to think that the scientific and technological revolution is creating no problems for socialist society. Experience shows that its advance involves improvement of social relations, a change of mentality, the forging of a new psychology, and the acceptance of dynamism as a way of life and a rule of being. It calls insistently for continuous reassessment and renewal of the prevailing patterns of management.

In other words, the scientific and technological revolution not only opens up prospects, but also sets higher demands on the entire organization of home and international affairs. Certainly, scientific and technological progress cannot abolish the laws of social development or the social purpose and content of such development. But it exercises a tremendous influence on all the processes that are going on in the world, on its contradictions.

It is quite obvious that the two socio-economic systems differ substantially in their readiness and also in their ability fully to comprehend and resolve the problems that arise.

Such is the world we are living in on the threshold of the third millennium. It is a world full of hope, because people have never before been so amply equipped for the further development of civilization. But it is also a world overloaded with dangers and contradictions, prompting the thought that this is perhaps the most alarming period in history.

The first and most important group of contradictions in terms of humanity's future is connected with the **relations between countries of the two systems, the two formations.** These contradictions have a long history. Since the Great October Revolution in Russia and the split of the world on the social-class principle, fundamental distinctions have come to light in the assessment of current events and in the views concerning the world's social perspective.

Capitalism regarded the birth of socialism as a "mistake" of history which must be "rectified." It was to be rectified at all costs, by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and "punishments," or by denial of any and all cooperation. But nothing could interfere with the consolidation of the new system and its historical right to live.

The difficulty the ruling classes of the capitalist world have in understanding the realities, the periodical recurrence of attempts at resolving by force the entire range of contradictions dividing the two worlds are, of course, anything but accidental. Imperialism is prompted by its intrinsic mainsprings and socio-economic essence to translate the competition of the two systems into the language of military confrontation. By dint of its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly generates aggressive, adventurist policy.

Here we can speak of a whole complex of impelling motives: the predatory appetites of the arms manufacturers and the influential military-bureaucratic groups, the selfish interest of the monopolies in sources of raw materials and sales markets, the capitalists' fear of the ongoing changes, and, lastly, the attempts to resolve their own, snow-balling problems at the expense of socialism.

This last is especially typical of U.S. imperialism. It was nothing but imperial ideology and policy, the desire to create the most unfavourable external conditions for socialism and for the U.S.S.R. that prompted the start of the buildup of nuclear and others arms after 1945, just when the crushing defeat of fascism and militarism was, it would seem, offering a realistic opportunity for building a world without wars, and a mechanism of international cooperation—the United Nations—had been created for this purpose. But imperialism's nature asserted itself that time again.

Today, too, the Right wing of U.S. monopoly capitalism regards the stoking up of international tensions as something that justifies military allocations, claims to global supremacy, interference in the affairs of other states, and an offensive against the interests and rights of the American working people. The plans of using tensions to exert pressure on the allies, to make them implicitly obedient, to subordinate them to Washington's dictation seem to play no small part here.

The policy of total contention, of military confrontation, has no future. Flight into the past is no response to the challenges of the future. It is rather an act of despair which, however, does not make this posture any less dangerous. Washington's deeds will show when and to what extent it will understand this. We, for our part, are ready to do everything we can in order to radically improve the international situation. To achieve this, socialism need not renounce any of its principles or ideals. It has always stood and continues to stand for the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems.

As distinct from imperialism, which is trying to halt the course of history by force, to regain what it had in the past, socialism has never, of its own free will, related its future to any military solution of international problems. This was borne out at the very first big discussion that took place in our Party after the victory of the Great October Revolution. During that discussion, as we may recall, the views of the "Left Communists" and the Trotskyites, who championed the theory of "revolutionary war" which, they claimed, would carry socialism to other countries, were firmly rejected. This position, as Lenin emphasized in 1918, "would be completely at variance with Marxism, for Marxism has always been opposed to 'pushing' revolutions, which developed with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions." Today, too, we are firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible.

The problems and crises experienced by the capitalist world arise within its own womb and are a natural result of the internal antagonistic contradictions of the old society. In this sense, capitalism negates itself as it develops. Unable to cope with the acute problems of the declining phase of capitalism's development, the ruling circles of the imperialist countries resort to means and methods that are obviously incapable of saving the society which history has doomed.

The myth of a Soviet or communist "threat" that is being circulated today is designed to justify the arms race and the imperialist countries' own aggressiveness. But it is becoming increasingly clear that the path of war can bring no sensible solutions, either international or domestic. The clash and struggle of the opposite approaches to the prospects of world development have become especially complex in nature. Now that the world has huge nuclear stockpiles and the only thing experts argue about is how many times or dozens of times humanity can be destroyed, it is high time to begin an effective withdrawal from brinkmanship, from the equilibrium of fear, to normal, civilized forms of relations between the states of the two systems.

In the years to come the struggle will evidently centre on the actual content of the policy that can safeguard peace. It will be a hard and many-sided struggle, because we are dealing with a society whose ruling circles refuse to assess the realities of the world and its prospects in sober terms, or to draw serious conclusions from their own experience and that of others. All this is an indication of the wear and tear suffered by its internal "systems of immunity," of its social senility, which reduces the probability of far-reaching changes in the policy of the dominant forces and augments the degree of its recklessness.

That is why it is not easy at all, in the current circumstances, to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. The decisive factors here will be the correlation of forces on the world scene, the growth and activity of the peace potential, and its capability of effectively countering the threat of nuclear war. Much will depend, too, on the degree of realism that Western ruling circles will show in assessing the situation. But it is unfortunate when not only the eyesight but also the soul of politicians is blind. With nuclear war being totally unacceptable, peaceful coexistence rather than confrontation of the systems should be the rule in interstate relations.

The second group of contradictions consists of the **intrinsic contradictions of the capitalist world itself.** The past period has amply confirmed that the **general crisis of capitalism** is growing deeper. The capitalism of today, whose exploitative nature has not changed, is in many ways different from what it was in the early and even the mid-20th century. Under the influence and

in the setting of the scientific and technological revolution, the conflict between the productive forces, which have grown to gigantic proportions, and the private-owner social relations, has become still more acute. Here there is growth of unemployment and aggravation of all the social problems. Militarism, which has spread to all areas, is applied as the most promising means of boosting the economy. The crisis of political institutions, of the entire spiritual sphere, is growing. Reaction is exercising fierce pressure all along the line—in home and foreign policy, the economy and culture, and the use of the achievements of human genius. The traditional forms of conservatism are giving place to authoritarian tendencies.

Special mention should be made of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, a most dangerous aspect of the crisis of capitalism. This concerns not only external policy. In the modern-day system of imperialism it is also a most important area of internal policy, a means of pressure on all the advanced and progressive elements that live and fight in the capitalist countries, in the non-socialist part of the world.

True, the present stage of the general crisis does not lead to any absolute stagnation of capitalism and does not rule out possible growth of its economy and the appearance of new scientific and technical trends. It "allows for" sustaining concrete economic, military, political and other positions, and in some cases even for possible social revenge, the regaining of what had been lost before. But lacking positive aims and guidelines that would express the interests of the working masses, capitalism now has to cope with an unprecedented interlacement and mutual exacerbation of all groups of its contradictions. It faces so many social and other impasses as it has never known before in all the centuries of its development.

Among the first to grow more acute are the contradictions **between labour and capital.** In the 1960s and 70s, with the onset of a favourable economic situation, the working class, and the working people generally, managed to secure a certain improvement of their condition. But from the mid-70s on, the proliferating economic crises and another technological modernization changed the situation and enabled capital to take the counteroffensive, depriving the working people of a considerable part of their social gains. For a number of standard of living indicators, the working people were thrown many years back. Unemployment has reached a postwar high. The condition of peasants and farmers is deteriorating visibly: some farms are going bankrupt, with their former owners joining the ranks of wage workers, while others become abjectly dependent on large agricultural monopolies and banks. The social stratification is growing deeper and increasingly striking. In the United States, for example, one per cent of the wealthiest families own riches that exceed by nearly 50 per cent the total wealth of 80 per cent of all the American families, who make up the lower part of the property pyramid.

Imperialism's ruling circles are doubtlessly aware that such a situation is fraught with social explosions and political destabilization. But this is not making their policies more balanced. On the contrary, the most irreconcilable reactionary groups of the ruling class have, by and large, taken the upper hand in recent years. The period is marked by an especially massive and fierce offensive of the monopolies on the rights of the working people.

The whole arsenal of means at capitalism's disposal is being put to use. The trade unions are persecuted and economically blackmailed. Anti-labour laws are being enacted. The Left and all other progressives are being persecuted. Continuous control or, to be more precise, surveillance of people's state of mind and behaviour has become standard. Deliberate cultivation of individualism, of the principle that might is right in the fight for survival, immorality, and hatred of all that is democratic—this is practised on an unprecedented scale.

The future, the working people's fight for their rights, for social progress, will show how the basic contradiction between labour and capital will develop and what conclusions will be drawn from the prevailing situation. But mention must be made of the serious danger to international relations, too, of any further substantial rightward shift of policy, of the entire internal situation in some capitalist countries. The consequences of such a development are hard to predict, and we must not underrate their danger.

The last decades of the century are marked by new outbreaks of **inter-imperialist contradictions** and the appearance of their new forms and tendencies. This group of capitalist contradictions has not been eliminated either by class affinity, the interest in uniting forces, by military, economic and political integration, or by the scientific and technological revolution. The latter has incontestably accelerated the internationalization of capitalist production, has given added impetus to the evening up of levels as well as to the leap-like development of capitalist countries. The competition that has grown more acute under the impact of scientific and technological progress is hitting those who have dropped behind still more mercilessly. The considerable complication of the conditions of capitalist reproduction, the diversity of crisis processes, and the intensification of international competition have made imperialist rivalry especially acute and bitter. The commercial and economic struggle in the world market is witnessing ever greater reliance on the power of national state-monopoly capitalism, with the role of the capitalist state becoming increasingly aggressive and egoistic.

The **transnational monopoly capital** has gained strength rapidly. It is seizing control of, and monopolizing, whole branches or spheres of production both on the scale of individual countries and in the world economy as a whole. By the early 80s the transnational corporations accounted for more than one third of the industrial production, more than half of the foreign trade, and nearly 80 per cent of the patents for new machinery and technology in the capitalist world.

The core of the transnational corporations consists of American firms. Their enterprises abroad use an additional army of wage and salary workers equalling half the number employed in manufacturing in the U.S.A. At present they produce something like $1.5 trillion worth of goods and services a year, or nearly 40 per cent of aggregate U.S. output.

The size of the "second economy" of the United States is double or triple that of the economies of such leading West European powers as the F.R.G., France and Britain, and second only to that of Japan. Today the biggest U.S. transnational monopolies are empires whose economic activity is comparable to the gross national product of entire countries.

A new knot of contradictions has appeared and is being swiftly tightened **between the transnational corporations and the nation-state form of society's political organization.** The transnational corporations are undermining the sovereignty both of developing and of developed capitalist countries. They make active use of state-monopoly regulation when it suits their interests, and come to brutal grips with it when they see the slightest threat to their profits from the actions of capitalist governments. But for all that, the U.S. transnational supermonopolies are, as a rule, active vehicles of state hegemonism and the imperial ambitions of the country's ruling circles.

The **relations between the three main centres of present-day imperialism**—the U.S.A., Western Europe and Japan—abound in visible and concealed contradictions. The economic, financial and technological superiority which the U.S.A. enjoyed over its closest competitors until the end of the 1960s has been put to a serious trial. Western Europe and Japan managed to outdo their American patron in some things, and are also challenging the United States in such a traditional sphere of U.S. hegemony as that of the latest technology.

Washington is continuously calling on its allies not to waste their gunpowder on internecine strife. But how are the three centres of modern-day imperialism to share one roof if the Americans themselves, manipulating the dollar and the interest rates, are not

loath to fatten their economy at the expense of Western Europe and Japan? Wherever the three imperialist centres manage to coordinate their positions, this is more often than not the effect of American pressure or outright dictation, and works in the interests and aims above all of the United States. This, in turn, sharpens, rather than blunts, the contradictions.

It appears that people are beginning to wonder about this cause-and-effect relationship. For the first time, governments of some West European countries, the social democratic and liberal parties, and the public at large have begun to openly discuss whether present U.S. policy coincides with Western Europe's notions of its own security and whether the United States is going too far in its claims to "leadership"? The partners of the United States have had more than one occasion to see that someone else's spectacles cannot substitute for one's own eyes.

The clash of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies will, no doubt, continue as a result of changes in the correlation of forces within the imperialist system. Still, the existing complex of economic, military, political and other common interests of the three "centres of power" can hardly be expected to break up in the prevailing conditions of the present-day world. But within the framework of this complex Washington should not expect meek obedience to U.S. dictation on the part of its allies and competitors, and especially so to the detriment of their own interests.

The specifics of the inter-imperialist contradictions in the current period also encompasses a possible change of their configuration in the coming decades, with new capitalist "centres of power" coming on the scene. This will doubtless lead to a further growth of the bulk of contradictions, to their closer interlacement and aggravation.

A new, complex and mobile set of contradictions has taken shape between imperialism and the developing countries and peoples. The liberation of former colonies and semi-colonies was a strong political and ideological blow to the capitalist system. It has ceased to exist in the shape that it assumed in the 19th century and in which it extended into the first half of the 20th. A slow, difficult, but irresistible process of socio-economic transformations is under way in the life of nations comprising the majority of mankind. This process, which has brought about no few fundamental changes, has also encountered considerable difficulties.

By political manoeuvring, blandishments and bribery, military threats and blackmail, and all too often by direct interference in the internal affairs of the newly free countries, capitalism has in many ways managed to preserve the earlier relationships of economic dependence. On this basis imperialism has managed to create and adjust the most refined system of neocolonialist exploitation, and to tighten its hold on a considerable number of newly free states.

The consequences of this are tragic. The developing countries with a population of more than two billion have, in effect, become a region of wholesale poverty. In the early 1980s the per capita income in the newly free countries was, on the whole, less than 10 per cent that of the developed capitalist states. And in the past thirty years, far from shrinking, the gap has grown wider. Nor is it a question of just comparative poverty. There is illiteracy and misery, chronic undernourishment and hunger, appalling child mortality, and epidemics that afflict hundreds of millions of people.

This is a disgrace for civilized humanity! And its culprit is imperialism. Not only from the point of view of history, that is, of colonial plunder on entire continents which left behind a heritage of unbelievable backwardness, but equally in terms of present-day practices. In just the past ten years the profits squeezed out of the developing countries by U.S. corporations exceeded their investment fourfold. And in Latin America and the Caribbean, in the same period, the profits of U.S. monopolies were over eight times greater than their investment.

It is no exaggeration to say that, to a large extent, the imperialist system is still living off the plunder of the developing countries, off their ruthless exploitation. The forms and methods are changing, but the essence remains. In the United States, for example, a sizeable portion of the national income comes from these very sources. The developing countries are being exploited by all the imperialist states, but, unquestionably, U.S. imperialism is doing it with the least consideration for them. Non-equivalent exchange, unequal trade, juggling with and abuse of interest rates, the siphoning out of profits by the transnational corporations—all this works to the same end, adding still more to the poverty and misery of some, and to the wealth of others, and increasing the polarization in the capitalist world economy.

The distressing condition of the developing countries is a major world problem. This and nothing else is the real source of many of the conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Such is the truth, however hard the ruling circles of the imperialist powers may invoke the "hand of Moscow" in order to vindicate their neocolonialist policy and global ambitions.

Take the problem of debts. Together with the profits shipped out yearly from the developing countries, the accumulated debt means just one thing: the prospects of their development are shrinking, and a further aggravation of the already terrible social, economic and other problems is inevitable.

In the present circumstances these countries will not, of course, be able to repay their debts. And if no fair solution is found, the situation is fraught with grave socio-economic and political consequences on the international scene. It would be wrong to say that the imperialist ruling circles are blind to the underlying danger here. But all their concerns boil down to one thing—how to save the present system of their enrichment through the exploitation and superexploitation of the developing nations.

Another thing is certain: there is an irrefutable causal connection between the trillion-sized debt of these nations and the more than trillion-sized growth of U.S. military expenditures in the past ten years. The 200-odd billion dollars that are being annually pumped out of the developing countries and the practically equal size of the U.S. military budget in recent years are no coincidence either. That is why militarism has a direct stake in maintaining and tightening the system of neocolonial super-exploitation.

It is also obvious that with capitalism's contradictions growing sharper and its sphere of domination shrinking, neocolonialism is becoming an increasingly important source of resources that afford monopoly capital the possibility for social manoeuvring, mitigating social tensions in the leading capitalist states, and for bribing some sections of the working people. It is a truly extraordinary source, for a worker's hourly rate in the advanced capitalist states is higher, sometimes several times higher, than a day's earnings in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

All this cannot go on forever. But, of course, no miracle can be expected: the situation is not going to straighten out by itself. The armed force that the U.S.A. is counting on to maintain the status quo, to safeguard the interests of the monopolies and the military-industrial complex, and to prevent any further progressive change in the newly free countries, can only complicate the situation and precipitate new conflicts. The bags of money are liable to become kegs of gunpowder. Sooner or later, in this area too, capitalism will have to choose between the policy of force and shameless plunder, on the one hand, and the opportunity for cooperation on an equitable basis, on the other. The solutions must be radical—in the interests of the peoples of the developing states.

Analysis of yet another group of contradictions—those on a global scale, affecting the very foundations of the existence of civilization, leads to serious conclusions. This applies first of all to pollution of the environment, the air and oceans, and to the exhaustion

of natural resources. The problems are aggravated not only by excessive loads on the natural systems as a consequence of the scientific and technological revolution and the increasing extent of man's activity. Engels, in his time, foresaw the ill effects of exposing nature to the blind play of market forces. The need for effective international procedures and mechanisms that would make for the rational use of the world's resources as an asset belonging to all humanity, is becoming increasingly apparent.

The global problems, affecting all humanity, cannot be resolved by one state or a group of states. This calls for cooperation on a worldwide scale, for close and constructive joint action by the majority of countries. This cooperation must be based on complete equality and respect for the sovereignty of each. It must be based on conscientious compliance with accepted commitments and with the standards of international law. Such is the imperative of the times in which we live.

Capitalism also causes an impoverishment of **culture**, an erosion of the spiritual values created over the centuries. Nothing elevates man more than knowledge. But in probably no other period of history has mankind experienced any stronger pressure of falsehood and deceit than it does now. Bourgeois propaganda thrusts ingeniously doctored information on people all over the world, imposing thoughts and feelings, and programming a civic and social attitude advantageous to the ruling classes. What knowledge, what values and moral standards are implicit in the information dispensed to the people and in the system of education is, first and foremost, a political problem.

Life itself poses the question of safeguarding culture, of protecting it from bourgeois corruption and vandalization. That is one of the most important universal tasks. We cannot afford to neglect the long-term psychological and moral consequences of imperialism's current practices in the cultural sphere. Its impoverishment under the onslaught of unbridled commercialization and the cult of force, the propagation of racism, the propaganda of low instincts, of the ways of the criminal world and the "lower depths" of society, must be, and certainly will be, rejected by mankind.

The problems, as you see, comrades, are many, and they are large-scale and complex. But it is clear that comprehension of these problems, on the whole, lags behind the scope and depth of the current tasks. The imperative condition for success in resolving the topical issues of international life is to reduce the time of search for political understandings and to secure the swiftest possible constructive action.

We are perfectly well aware that not everything by far is within our power and that much will depend on the West, on its leaders' ability to see things in sober perspective at important junctures of history. The U.S. President once said that if our planet were threatened by a landing from another planet, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. would quickly find a common language. But isn't a nuclear disaster a more real danger than a landing of extra-terrestrials? Isn't the ecological threat big enough? Don't all countries have a common stake in finding a sensible and fair approach to the problems of the developing nations?

Lastly, is all the experience accumulated by mankind not enough to draw perfectly justified practical conclusions today rather than wait until some other crisis breaks out? What does the United States hope to win in the long term by advancing doctrines that can no longer fit U.S. security into the modest dimensions of our planet?

To keep in the saddle of history, imperialism is resorting to all possible means. But such a policy is costing the world dearly. The nations are compelled to pay an ever higher price for it. To pay both directly and indirectly. To pay with millions of human lives, with a depletion of national resources, with the waste of gigantic sums on the arms race. With the failure to solve numerous, increasingly difficult problems. And in the long run, perhaps, with the highest possible price.

The U.S. ruling circles are clearly losing sight of the realities in this far from simple period of history. Aggressive international behaviour, increasing militarization of politics and thinking, contempt for the interests of others—all this is inevitably leading to the moral and political isolation of U.S. imperialism, widening the gulf between it and the rest of humanity. It is as though the opponents of peace in that country are unaware that when nuclear weapons are at the ready, time and space lose their habitual contours for civilization and mankind becomes captive to chance.

Will the ruling centres of the capitalist world manage to embark on the path of sober, constructive assessments of what is going on? The easiest thing is to say: maybe yes and maybe no. But history denies us the right to make such predictions. We cannot take "no" for an answer to the question: will mankind survive or not? We say: the progress of society, the life of civilization must and will continue.

We say this not only out of the optimism that is characteristic of Communists, of our faith in people's intelligence and common sense. We are realists and are perfectly aware that the two worlds are divided by very many things, and deeply divided, too. But we also see clearly that the need to resolve most vital problems affecting all humanity must prompt people to interaction, awakening humanity's hitherto unseen powers of self-preservation. And here is the stimulus for solutions commensurate with the realities of our time.

The course of history, of social progress, requires ever more insistently that there should be **constructive and creative interaction between states and peoples on the scale of the entire world.** Not only does it so require, but it also creates the political, social and material preconditions for it.

Such interaction is essential in order to prevent nuclear catastrophe, in order that civilization might survive. It is essential in order that other worldwide problems that are growing more acute should also be resolved jointly in the interests of all concerned. The dialectics of present-day development consists in a combination of competition and confrontation between the two systems and in a growing tendency towards interdependence of the countries of the world community. This is precisely the way, through the struggle of opposites, through arduous effort, groping in the dark to some extent, as it were, that the controversial but **interdependent and in many ways integral world** is taking shape.

The Communists have always been aware of the intrinsic complexity and contradictoriness of the paths of social progress. But at the centre of these processes —and this is the chief distinction of the communist world outlook—there unfailingly stands man, his interests and cares. Human life, the possibilities for its comprehensive development, as Lenin stressed, is of the greatest value; the interests of social development rank above all else. That is what the CPSU takes its bearing from in its practical activity.

As we see it, the main line of struggle in present-day conditions is to create worthy, truly human material and spiritual conditions of life for all nations, to see to it that our planet should be habitable, and to deal with its riches rationally. Above all, to deal rationally with the chief value of all—with people and all their potentialities. That is exactly where we offer the capitalist system to compete with us in a setting of lasting peace.

II.

THE STRATEGIC COURSE: ACCELERATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Comrades, by advancing the strategy of accelerating the country's socio-economic development at the April plenary meeting, the Central Committee of the CPSU adopted a decision of historic significance. It won the wholehearted support of the Party, of the entire people, and is being submitted for discussion at the congress.

What do we mean by acceleration? First of all, raising the rate of economic growth. But that is not all. It means essentially a new quality of growth: an all-out intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technological progress, a structural reconstruction of the economy, effective forms of management and of organizing and stimulating labour.

The policy of acceleration is not confined to changes in the economic field. It envisages an active social policy, a consistent emphasis on the principle of socialist justice. The strategy of acceleration presupposes an improvement of social relations, a renovation of the forms and methods of work of political and ideological institutions, an extension of socialist democracy, and resolute elimination of inertness, stagnation and conservatism—of everything that is holding back social progress.

The main thing that must ensure us success is the living creativity of the masses, the maximum use of the tremendous potentialities and advantages of the socialist system.

In short, comrades, acceleration of the country's socio-economic development is the key to all our problems: immediate and long-term, economic and social, political and ideological, internal and external. That is the only way a new qualitative condition of Soviet society can and must be achieved.

a. Results of Socio-Economic Development and the Need for Its Acceleration

Comrades, the programme tasks of the Party raised and discussed at our congress necessitate a broad approach to the assessment of the results of the country's development. In the quarter of a century since the adoption of the third CPSU Programme the Soviet Union has achieved impressive successes. The fixed production assets of our economy have increased seven times over. Thousands of enterprises have been built and new industries created. The national income has gone up nearly 300 per cent, industrial production 400, and agricultural 70 per cent.

Before the war and in the early postwar years the level of the U.S. economy appeared to us hard to attain, whereas already in the 1970s we had come substantially closer to it in terms of our scientific, technical and economic potential, and had even surpassed it in output of certain key items.

These achievements are the result of tremendous effort by the people. They have enabled us to considerably enhance the well-being of the population. In a quarter of a century real per capita incomes have gone up 160 per cent and the social consumption funds more than 400 per cent. Fifty-four million flats have been built, which enabled us to improve the living conditions of the majority of families. The transition to universal secondary education has been completed. The number of people who finished higher educational establishments has increased fourfold. The successes of science, medicine and culture are universally recognized. The panorama of achievements will not be complete if I say nothing about the deep-going changes in social relations, the relations between nations, and the further development of democracy.

At the same time, difficulties began to build up in the economy in the 1970s, when the rates of economic growth declined markedly. As a result, the targets for economic development set in the CPSU Programme, and even the lower targets of the 9th and 10th five-year plans, were not attained. Neither did we manage fully to carry out the social programme charted for this period. We fell short of the targets set for building up facilities for research and education, health protection, culture and everyday services.

Of course, the state of affairs was affected also by factors beyond our control. But they were not decisive. The main thing was that we had failed to make a timely political assessment of the changed economic situation, that we had failed to realize the acute and urgent need for converting the economy to intensive methods of development, and for the active use in the economy of scientific and technological achievements. There were many exhortations and a lot of talk on this score, but practically no headway was made.

By inertia, the economy continued to develop largely on an extensive basis, with sights set on drawing additional labour and material resources into production. As a result, the rate of growth of labour productivity and certain other efficiency indicators dropped substantially. The attempts to rectify matters by building new plant affected the problem of balance. The economy, which has enormous resources at its disposal, ran into shortages. A gap appeared between the needs of society and the attained level of production, between the effective demand and the supply of goods.

And though efforts have been made of late, we have not succeeded in wholly remedying the situation. The output of most types of industrial and agricultural products fell short of the targets set by the 26th Congress of the CPSU for the 11th five-year period. There are serious lags in engineering, the oil and coal industries, electrical engineering, in ferrous metals and chemicals, and in capital construction. Neither have the targets been achieved for the main indicators of efficiency and the improvement of the people's standard of living.

We must draw very serious lessons from all this, comrades.

The first of them may be described as the lesson of truth. A conscientious analysis of the past clears the way to the future, whereas a half-truth which shamefully evades the sharp corners retards the elaboration of a realistic policy and impedes our advance. "Our strength," Lenin said, "lies in stating the truth." That is precisely why the Central Committee deemed it essential to speak once more in the new edition of the Party Programme of the negative processes that had

surfaced in the 70s and the early 80s. That is why we speak of them at the congress today as well.

The **other lesson** concerns the sense of purpose and resolve in practical actions. The switchover to intensive development of such an enormous economy as ours is no simple matter and calls for considerable effort, time and the highest sense of responsibility. But once transformations are launched, we must not confine ourselves to half measures. We must act consistently and energetically, and must not hesitate to take the boldest of steps.

And **one more lesson**—the main one, I might say. The success of any undertaking depends to a decisive degree on how actively and consciously the masses take part in it. To convince broad sections of the working people that the chosen path is correct, to win their interest **morally** and materially, and remould the psychology of the personnel—those are important conditions for the acceleration of our growth. The advance will be all the more rapid, the better our discipline and organization, and the greater the responsibility of each for his job and its results.

Today the prime task of the Party and the entire people is decisively to reverse the unfavourable tendencies in the development of the economy, to impart due dynamism to it and to give scope to the initiative and creativity of the masses, to truly revolutionary change.

There is no other way. In the absence of accelerated economic growth our social programmes will remain wishful thinking, though, comrades, they cannot be put off. Soviet people must within a short time feel the results of the common effort to cardinally resolve the food problem, to meet the need for high-quality goods and services, to improve the medical services, housing, the conditions of life, and environmental protection.

The acceleration of socio-economic development will enable us to contribute substantially to the consolidation of world socialism, and will raise our cooperation with fraternal countries to a higher level. It will considerably expand our capacity for economic ties with the developing nations, with countries of the capitalist world. In other words, implementation of the policy of acceleration will have far-reaching consequences for the destiny of our Motherland.

b. Basic Guidelines of Economic Policy

Comrades, the draft Programme of the CPSU and the draft Guidelines define the main targets of our economic and social development. By the end of this century we intend to increase the national income nearly twofold while doubling the production potential and qualitatively transforming it. Labour productivity will go up by 2.3-2.5 times, energy consumption per ruble of national income will drop by 28.6 per cent and metal consumption by nearly 50 per cent. This will signify a sharp turn towards intensifying production, towards improving quality and effectiveness.

Subsequently, by intensifying these processes we intend to switch over to an economy having a higher level of organization and effectiveness, with comprehensively developed productive forces, mature socialist relations of production, and a smoothly-functioning economic mechanism. That is our strategic line.

As was emphasized at the conference in the Central Committee of the CPSU in June 1985, the main factors behind this line are scientific and technological progress and a fundamental transformation of society's productive forces. It is impossible to effect cardinal changes with the previous material and technical base. The way out, as we see it, lies in thorough modernization of the national economy on the basis of the latest scientific and technological advances, breakthroughs on the leading avenues of scientific and technological progress, and updating the economic mechanism and management system.

1. Modernization of the National Economy on the Basis of Scientific and Technological Progress

The CPSU has a tremendous backlog of experience in carrying out major scientific-technological and socio-economic transformations. But vast though these are, the scale and complexity of the work we carried out in the past cannot be compared with what has to be done in the period ahead to modernize the national economy.

What do we need for this?

First of all, changing the structural and investment policy. The substance of the changes lies in shifting the centre of attention from quantitative indices to quality and efficiency, from intermediate results to final results, from building up production assets to renewing them, from expanding fuel and raw material resources to making better use of them, speeding up the development of high-technology industries and of the production and social infrastructures.

A big step forward is to be made in this direction in the current five-year period. It is intended to allocate upwards of 200 billion rubles of capital investments—more than during the past ten years—for modernizing and technically reequipping production. Sizable though these amounts are, the planning and economic bodies will have to continue the search for additional resources for these purposes.

Large-scale integrated programmes in the basic areas have been drawn up, and their implementation has begun. The industries that play the key role in scientific and technological progress, that ensure quick economic returns and the solution of urgent social problems, will move ahead more dynamically. Substantial funds and material, scientific, and manpower resources are being concentrated to speed their development.

It is clear that the effectiveness of modernization and also the economic growth rates depend to a crucial degree on **machine building.** This is where the fundamental scientific and technical ideas are materialized, where new implements of labour and machine systems that determine progress in the other branches of the national economy are developed. Here the foundations are laid for a broad advance to basically new, resource-saving technologies, higher productivity of labour and better quality of the output.

The congress delegates know that the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers recently adopted a decision on the further development of machine building. In substance, it is a national modernization programme for this cardinal sector of industry. A single management body has been set up in it. The machine-building complex has been set the goal of sharply raising the technical-economic level and quality of machines, equipment and instruments by the end of the 12th five-year-plan period. The capital investments allocated for modernizing this industry will be 80 per cent greater than in the previous five years.

What, specifically, do we expect from the implementation of this programme? The output of machinery and equipment is to increase by more than 40 per cent, and their quality standards will be improved. The growing stream of machines of new generations will pave the way for a fundamental retooling of the national economy and a growth in its effectiveness. The resultant annual savings will amount to the labour of about 12 million persons, more than 100 million tons of fuel, and many billions of rubles. Calculations show that use of the Don-1500 harvester combine, for example, will lead to a considerable reduction in the number

of grain harvesting machines, will release about 400,000 machine-operators, and will reduce grain losses by millions of tons.

Large-scale introduction of computers and overall automation of production will tremendously influence the rate of technical modernization. Concrete targets in the development and large-scale production of modern computers and expansion of the manufacture of their components have been defined. The development of computer software and of management information systems has been put on an industrial footing. The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has set up an information science and computer technologies division to coordinate R&D.

Radical modernization of the fuel and energy complex is the keynote of the energy programme. That programme puts the emphasis on energy-saving production methods, on the replacement of liquid fuel by natural gas and coal, and on more sophisticated methods of oil refining. Advanced production methods are also to be employed in the extraction industry: open-cast coal mining, the use of hydromonitors in coal extraction, the development of improved and more reliable oil extraction equipment, and the universal introduction of automated systems. In the course of the current five-year span two and a half times more nuclear power plant generating capacities will be started up than in the previous five years, and outmoded units at thermal power stations will be replaced on a large scale.

A great deal will have to be done in the metallurgical and chemical industries, in introducing more highly productive equipment there. The production of fundamentally new and improved structural and other advanced materials will accelerate the growth of electronics, machine building, construction, and other branches of the economy.

The Party attaches enormous importance to technical reequipment of the production infrastructure, in the first place, transport and communications. Top priority will be given to the development of the light industry and other industries that directly meet consumer demand. Advanced equipment for them is to be manufactured not only by specialized industries but also by other industries.

We will not be able to carry out technical modernization unless we radically improve capital construction. This calls for raising the entire building industry complex to a new industrial and organizational level, shortening the investment cycle by a minimum of 50 per cent both in plant modernization and in the construction of new facilities. We cannot reconcile ourselves any longer to slow construction rates that freeze enormous sums and retard scientific and technological progress in the national economy.

All these tasks, comrades, are gigantic in scale and significance. How they are carried out will, in the final analysis, determine the fulfilment of our plans and the rates of our growth. Each sector and each enterprise must have a clear-cut programme for the continuous modernization of production. The responsibility of the planning and economic bodies for achieving the planned targets will increase accordingly. Party organizations should also direct their activities towards this.

It is especially important to prevent window dressing and the use of palliative instead of substantive measures. There are disquieting instances, and by no means solitary ones, of ministries and departments erecting new facilities under the guise of modernization, of stuffing them with outdated equipment, and of drawing up costly projects that do not assure the rise of production to higher technical-economic levels.

Here is an illustration of that approach. The Bryansk Engineering Works, which puts out motors for diesel locomotives, is now in the middle of a 140-million ruble retooling programme. What results will this modernization of capacities yield? It turns out that the programme does not provide for the introduction of progressive technologies, the number of workers has already been increased by nearly 1,000, and the yield per unit of assets has dropped. The worst part of it all is that they intend to use the new capacities to manufacture an outdated motor, although a more efficient model has been designed and tested.

What does the stance of the executives of the Ministry of the Heavy Machine-Building Industry and of the Ministry of Railways mean? Evidently some comrades have failed to grasp the profound importance of the tasks confronting them. Such examples deserve stern condemnation as undermining the Party's policy of modernization and of accelerated scientific and technological progress. Such cases should be examined with all severity.

The need for modernization faces **scientific research** with new tasks. The CPSU will consistently pursue a policy of strengthening the material and technical base of scientific research to the maximum, of providing scientists with the conditions for fruitful work. However, our country is entitled to expect from its scientists discoveries and inventions that will bring about genuinely revolutionary changes in the development of machinery and production methods.

Important measures to make the work of research establishments more effective have been outlined lately. They deal with incentives for scientists and new links between science and production. A decision was recently adopted to set up intersectoral research-and-technological complexes including large institutes that are the leaders in their respective fields, among them institutes under Academies of Sciences, design organizations and pilot plants.

Steps are also being taken to improve the functioning of sectoral research institutes and to increase their contribution to faster scientific and technical progress. However, this process is going ahead at an impermissibly slow pace. Many institutes are still an appendage of ministry staffs; not infrequently they support departmental interests and are bogged down in red tape and paper work. The question of bringing science closer to production, of including sectoral research institutes in production and research-and-production associations, was forcefully raised at the June conference. We must ascertain who is opposing this, what stand the ministries and their Party committees take on this issue, and how they are reacting to life's demands.

The research potential of higher educational establishments must also be used more effectively. Upwards of 35 per cent of our country's research and educational personnel, including about half of the holders of doctorates, are concentrated there but they carry out no more than ten per cent of the research projects. The respective departments should draft and submit proposals for strengthening the links between university research and production. The proposals should also take into account the training of the next generation of researchers. Just as a forest cannot live on without undergrowth, the true scientist is inconceivable without pupils. This is a question of the future of science, and, therefore, of our country, too. Beginning with their freshman year, college and university students should be drawn into research work and into participation in applying research findings in production. This is the only way that real scientists and creatively-thinking specialists can be trained.

In sum, comrades, the orientation of science towards the needs of the national economy should be carried out more energetically. However, it is equally important to orient production towards science, to make it maximally receptive to scientific and technological advances. Regrettably, no few scientific discoveries and major inventions fail to find practical application for years, and sometimes for decades. I shall cite a few examples.

The non-wear and tear effect, which Soviet scientists discovered three decades ago, led to the development of fundamentally new lubricants that greatly increase the service life of machine parts subjected to friction and sharply reduce labour outlays. This discovery, which yields saving of many millions of rubles, has to this day not yet been applied on a broad scale because of the blinkers worn by some high-ranking executives of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Petrochemical Industry and

also of a number of other ministries and departments.

The Ministry of the Motor Vehicle Industry and planning bodies are to blame for the fact that for about ten years now an anti-friction bearing, which makes machines more reliable and failure-safe under the most rigorous operational conditions, has not been applied on a large scale. The Ministry of the Machine-Tool Industry has impermissibly held up the manufacture of unique hydraulic motors helping to extensively use hydraulic techniques in mining and elsewhere, to increase labour productivity severalfold and to improve working conditions.

Unfortunately, this list could be continued. This kind of attitude to new inventions is not infrequently based on the ambitions of separate groups of scientists, on departmental hostility towards inventions made "by others," and a lack of interest on the part of production managers in introducing them. It is no secret that even the examination of invention applications is sometimes an ordeal that drags on for years.

We cannot reach our targets in accelerating scientific and technological progress unless we find levers that will guarantee priority only to those research establishments and industrial enterprises whose work collectives actively introduce whatever is new and progressive and seek ways and means of manufacturing articles of high quality and efficacy.

We have already accumulated a definite amount of experience in improving the economic mechanism in the sphere of science and its interaction with production. It must be thoroughly analyzed and then applied without delay, closely linking up material incentives for research collectives and individual researchers with their actual contribution to the resolving of scientific and technological problems.

All levels of economic management must change their attitude to the introduction of new methods and technology. This also applies to the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R., which should go over more boldly to all-inclusive planning of scientific and technological progress, as well as to the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Science and Technology, which is reorganizing its work too slowly. The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., ministries and departments should pay more attention to basic research and to applying what was achieved as a result of its findings in production. This is a sacred duty of every scientist, engineer, designer, and manager of an enterprise.

Our activity in the sphere of **foreign economic contacts** must be tied up more closely with the new tasks. There should be a large-scale, forward-looking approach to mutually advantageous economic relations. The member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have worked out a policy of this kind. It presupposes a switchover in economic relations among them from primarily trade relations to deeper specialization and cooperation in production, above all in machine building, and to the establishment of joint associations and research-and-production complexes.

We have no few government departments and organizations that are responsible for separate spheres of foreign economic relations, but they do not always coordinate their work. In posing the aim of making active use of foreign economic contacts to speed our development we have in mind a step-by-step restructuring of foreign trade, of making our exports and imports more effective.

2. Solving the Food Problem: A Top Priority Task

Comrades, a problem we will have to solve in the shortest time possible is that of fully meeting our country's food needs. This is the aim of the Party's present agrarian policy, formulated in the decisions taken by the CPSU Central Committee at its May 1982 Plenary Meeting and in the Food Programme of the U.S.S.R. In the period since their adoption a good deal has been done to expand the material and technical base of agriculture and of the related industries. The economy of the collective farms, state farms, interfarm enterprises and processing plants has become stronger; the productivity of crop farming and livestock farming has risen.

There is progress, but the lag in agriculture is being overcome slowly. A decisive turn is needed in the agrarian sector to improve the food supply noticeably already during the 12th five-year-plan period. It is planned to more than double the growth rate of farm production and to ensure a substantial increase in the per capita consumption of meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit.

Can we do this? We can and we must. The Party has therefore worked out additional measures to raise the efficiency of all sectors of the agro-industrial complex. Their substance consists in changing the socio-economic situation in the rural areas, in creating the conditions for greater intensification and guaranteed farm produce. The emphasis is put on economic methods of management, broader autonomy of collective farms and state farms and their higher responsibility for the results of their work.

In carrying out this policy we will have to make more effective use of the production potential in the agro-industrial complex and concentrate efforts and resources on the most important sectors providing the highest returns. It is a question, first and foremost, of increasing soil fertility and creating the conditions for stable farming. As the experience of recent years has shown, the key to success lies in large-scale application of intensive technologies. They yield a tremendous effect. Their application provided, last year alone, an additional 16 million tons of grain and a substantial amount of other produce.

Reducing crop and livestock produce losses during harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing is the most immediate source of augmenting food stocks. We have no small potentialities in this respect; the addition to consumption resources could amount to as much as 20 per cent, and in the case of some products to as much as 30 per cent. Besides, eliminating the losses would cost only between a third and a half of what producing the same amount of food would cost.

The Central Committee and the government have now defined major steps to reduce losses. Rapid expansion of agricultural machine building will saturate the collective farms and state farms with highly productive machines capable of performing all the field work faster and better. We have also made additional outlays to fortify the manufacture of machinery for the food industry and facilities for the processing and storage of food.

The Party and the state will continue to persistently enlarge the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex. It is equally clear, however, that human beings will, as before, be the mainspring and inspiration of progress. Today, more than ever before, agriculture needs people who want to work actively, who have a high level of professional skill and a feeling for the new. Constant attention to the working and living conditions of the members of the rural community is the best guarantee of all our successes. All our plans are geared to this, and it is important for them to be carried out unswervingly.

All these are urgent measures, but the programme of action is not confined to them. The switchover of the agrarian sector to new methods of administration and management has to be completed. The establishment, in the centre and in the localities, of unified management bodies of the agro-industrial complex, called upon to carry out genuine and effective integration of agriculture and of the related industries, is undoubtedly a step of fundamental significance.

The establishment of this organizational framework is backed up by an effective economic mechanism. Proposals on this score have already been drafted. The main idea is to give broad scope to economically viable management methods, to substantially broaden the autonomy of collective farms and state farms, to give them a greater incentive and make them more responsible for the final results. In substance, it is a question of creatively applying, in the conditions of today, Lenin's idea of the food tax.

It is intended to establish fixed plans for the purchase of produce from the collective farms and state farms for each year of the five-year period; these plans will not be altered. Simultaneously, the farms will be given the opportunity to use, as they see fit, all the produce harvested over and above the plan; in the case of fruit and potatoes and other vegetables they will also be able to use a considerable part of the planned produce as they see fit. The farms can sell it, additionally, to the state, can sell it, either fresh or processed, on the collective-farm market or through cooperative trading establishments, or use it for other needs, including the needs of personal subsidiary holdings. Additional allocations of material resources for which there is a hightened demand, and also other incentives, will encourage farms to sell grain to the state over and above the plan.

In future, the republics, territories and regions will be given fixed quotas for the supply of produce to centralized stocks; everything produced over and above that will be kept for the local supply system.

There is to be a transition to improved planning methods based on progressive norms. The role of cost accounting will be substantially increased. Past experience shows that neglect of the principles of self-support, material incentives and responsibility for performance led to a deterioration of the financial and economic position of collective farms and state farms and also to their considerable indebtedness. Genuine cost accounting, with the incomes of enterprises depending upon the ultimate results, should become the rule for all links of the agro-industrial complex, and, first and foremost, the collective farms and state farms. The contract and job-by-job systems of payment at the levels of teams, groups, and families, to whom means of production, including land, will be assigned for a period specified by contract, will become widespread.

There will be big opportunities for displaying initiative and resourcefulness. This also presupposes, however, a higher sense of responsibility for meeting the targets of the Food Programme, for the results of the financial and economic activity of collective farms, state farms, interfarm enterprises and organizations. A reliable barrier must be erected in the way of mismanagement and sponging, and an end must be put to excuses such as "objective circumstances," which some collective farms and state farms have been using to cover up their ineptitude, as well as sometimes a lack of desire to work better. The farms will have to use chiefly their own funds to expand production, increase profits and incomes and provide incentives. The practice of providing bank loans will have to be substantially altered to stimulate a higher level of activity by collective farms and state farms.

As you see, comrades, rural economic management conditions are undergoing a cardinal change. This calls for big changes in the style and methods of management in the agro-industrial complex. An end must be put to incompetent interference in productive activity in the rural areas. We expect the U.S.S.R. State Agro-Industrial Committee and its local bodies to do everything in order that the country should get substantial returns from the measures that are being taken.

3. Economic Management Must Measure Up to the New Demands

Comrades, the new economic tasks cannot be solved without an in-depth readjustment of the economic mechanism, without creating an integral, effective and flexible system of management that will take fuller advantage of the possibilities of socialism.

It is obvious that economic management requires constant improvement. However, the situation today is such that we cannot limit ourselves to partial improvements. A radical reform is needed. Its meaning consists in truly subordinating the whole of our production to the requirements of society, to the satisfaction of people's needs; in orienting management towards raising efficiency and quality; in accelerating scientific and technological progress; in promoting a greater interest by people in the results of their work, initiative and socialist enterprise in every link of the national economy, and, above all, in the work collectives.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and its Political Bureau have defined guidelines for reorganizing the economic mechanism. We set ourselves the aims of:

— heightening the efficacy of centralized guidance of the economy, strengthening the role of the centre in implementing the main goals of the Party's economic strategy and in determining the rates and proportions of national economic growth, its balanced development. Simultaneously, the practice of interference by the centre in the day-to-day activities of the lower economic links must be overcome;

— resolutely enlarging the framework of the autonomy of associations and enterprises, increasing their responsibility for attaining the highest ultimate results. Towards this end, to transfer them to genuine cost accounting, self-support and self-financing, and to make the income level of collectives directly dependent on the efficiency of their work;

— going over to economic methods of guidance at all levels of the national economy, for which purpose to reorganize the system of material and technical supply and improve the system of price formation, financing and crediting, and working out effective incentives to eliminate overexpenditure;

— introducing modern organizational management structures, taking into account the trends towards concentration, specialization and cooperation of production. This is a question of setting up complexes of interconnected industries, research and technological intersectoral centres, various forms of economic associations and territorial-production formations;

— ensuring the best possible combination of sectoral and territorial economic management, integrated economic and social development of republics and regions, and the organization of rational intersectoral contacts;

— carrying out all-round democratization of management, heightening the part played in it by work collectives, strengthening control from below, and ensuring accountancy and publicity in the work of economic bodies.

Comrades, we now unquestionably stand before the most thorough reorganization of the socialist economic mechanism. The reorganization has begun. The direction along which work is going ahead in the agro-industrial complex has been spoken about above. Management of the machine-building complex is being upgraded. Industrial enterprises are being transferred, in the main, to a two-level system of management. Beginning with the current year, new economic management methods which have gone through experimental testing have been introduced in enterprises and associations that turn out half of the total industrial output. Their introduction in the service sphere, in construction and in transport has begun. Collective forms of work organization and stimulation, and also economic contract systems, are being applied on an ever wider scale.

We are only at the beginning of the road, however. Time and energetic efforts are needed to reorganize the economic mechanism in our country with its vast and complex economy. Difficulties may arise, and we are not guaranteed against miscalculations either, but still the main thing now is to move ahead purposefully, step by step, along the direction we have chosen, supplementing and perfecting the economic mechanism on the basis of the accumulated experience and eliminating everything that has outlived itself or has failed to prove its worth.

Success will depend largely on **reorganization of the work of the central economic bodies, first and foremost, the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R.** It must indeed become our country's genuine scientific and economic HQ, freed from current economic matters. We have begun this work. New management bodies of the intersectoral complexes are being set up, and the lion's share of the operational management functions is being delegated directly to the enterprises

and associations. The State Planning Committee and other economic agencies must concentrate their efforts on long-range planning, on ensuring proportional and balanced economic development, on carrying out the structural policy, and on creating the economic wherewithal and incentives for attaining the best final results in each unit of the national economy. Considerable improvements are needed in the sphere of statistics.

Lately there has been a weakening of the **financial-credit influence on the economy.** The financial system does not sufficiently stimulate higher economic efficacy. The defective practice of income redistribution, with the losses of lagging enterprises, ministries and regions covered at the expense of those that operate profitably, has reached a large scale. This undermines cost accounting, promotes dependency and prompts endless demands for assistance from the centre. Crediting no longer serves its purpose.

"Any radical reforms," said Lenin, "will be doomed to failure unless our financial policy is successful." Accordingly, we must radically change the substance, organization and methods of the work of the financial and credit bodies. Their chief aim is not to carry out petty regulation of the functioning of enterprises but to provide economic incentives and to consolidate money circulation and cost accounting, which is the best possible controller. Everything must be made dependent on the end result. It is evidently time to improve our system of charging turnover tax, the deductions from profits, and other payments into the budget. Their amount and the procedure of payment should be more actively conducive to lower production costs, higher quality of the product, and speedier marketing.

Prices must become an active factor of economic and social policy. We shall have to carry out a planned readjustment of the price system as an integral whole in the interests of organizing effective cost accounting and in conformity with the aims of increasing the real incomes of the population. Prices must be made more flexible; price levels must be linked up not only with the outlays but also with the consumer properties of the goods, their effectiveness and the degree to which products meet the needs of society and consumer demand. Ceiling prices and contract prices are to be employed more widely.

The system of **material and technical supply** also needs thorough improvement. It must be turned into a flexible economic mechanism which helps the national economy to function rhythmically and steadily. It is the direct duty of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply to contribute actively to the establishment of direct long-term relations between producers and consumers on a contractual basis, and to improve the observance of the terms of delivery. Wholesale trade in means of production should be developed.

In the final analysis, everything we are doing to improve management and planning and to readjust organizational structures is aimed at creating conditions for **effective functioning of the basic link of the economic system: the association or enterprise.**

As shown by analysis, the results of the experiments that have been carried out could have been much better, if, on the one hand, there had been a corresponding reorganization of the work of the industrial ministries and central economic agencies, which continue their attempts to restrict the powers of enterprises, and, on the other hand, if the incentives for higher efficiency had been brought down to every section, work team and workplace. Special attention should be paid to this.

It is high time to put an end to the practice of ministries and departments exercising petty tutelage over enterprises. Ministries should concentrate their attention on technical policy, on intersectoral proportions, and on meeting the demands of the national economy in high-grade output by their industries. Enterprises and organizations should be given the right to directly sell to one another what they produce over and above the plan, raw and other materials and equipment which they do not use, etc. They should also be given the legal right to make such sales to the public. What sense is there in destroying or dumping onto waste heaps things that could come in useful in the household, in building homes, garages or bungalows on garden and vegetable allotments?

It would be difficult to overestimate the role of economic **normals.** When the work collectives of enterprises know beforehand the specifics of the planned period—delivery targets, prices, deductions from profits to the budget, normals for making up payroll funds and cost-accounting incentives funds—they can creatively, without fearing to reveal their untapped potentialities, draw up plans providing for higher growth rates of output and much higher efficiency. Moreover, enterprises should be given the possibility—following the example of the Volga Auto Works and the Sumy Engineering Works—to earn, themselves, the funds needed to expand and retool production.

It is especially important to give enterprises and organizations greater autonomy in the sphere of consumer goods manufacture and services. Their task is to react quickly to consumer demand. It is along these lines that we are reshaping the economic mechanism of light industry. The range of targets approved from above is being sharply limited for enterprises in this sphere; their programmes will be drawn up chiefly on the basis of contracts with trade organizations, which, in turn, must see to it that their orders conform to the actual consumer demand. In other words, the quantity, range, and quality of goods, that is, just what people need, will be the main thing, instead of gross output. Besides, it is planned to establish intersectoral production and industrial-commercial associations for the manufacture and sale of light industry goods and to expand retail trade in their produce.

The time has also come to solve another problem. The sum of an enterprise's payroll should be directly tied in with the returns from the sale of its products. This will help to exclude the manufacture and supply of low-grade goods for which there is no demand, or, as they say, operating for the warehouse. Incidentally, that approach should be applied not only in light industry but in other industries too. We can no longer reconcile ourselves to a situation in which the personnel of enterprises producing worthless goods lead an untroubled life, drawing their full pay and receiving bonuses and other benefits. Indeed, why should we pay for the work done to produce goods nobody buys. We should not forget that we only stand to lose from this.

A well thought-out approach must also be taken to the question of a rational combination of **large, medium and small enterprises.** As experience shows, small, well-equipped plants have their own advantages in many cases. They can be quicker and more flexible in taking into account technological innovations and changes in demand, can faster meet the demand for small-batch and separate items, and can make better use of available manpower, especially in small towns.

Another substantial aspect of readjustment is consolidation of the territorial approach to planning and management. This is especially important for our vast and multinational country with its widely varying conditions. The actions of ministries and departments that neglect regional conditions and requirements, with resulting economic imbalances, were rightly criticized at Party conferences and at congresses of the Communist parties of constituent republics.

Some suggestions are also being received on this score. It is evidently worthwhile giving thought to enlarging the powers of republican and local bodies—following the example of the agro-industrial complex—in the management of construction, intersectoral production units, the social and production infrastructures, and many consumer goods factories. The work of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and of the ministries should get a broader territorial orientation. The question of managing the economy on the basis of large economic areas deserves study.

Our short-term and long-range plans are connected in considerable measure with development of the na-

tural wealth of Siberia and our Far East. This is very important, and a statesmanlike approach ensuring integrated regional development should be taken to it. Special attention should be paid to providing people there with the conditions for fruitful work and a full-blooded living. That is the main question today, and fulfilment of the set targets depends on how it is solved.

Attention should be drawn at our congress to the problems involved in the further socio-economic development of the non-black earth zone of the Russian Federation. I will stress two points. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government have adopted special decisions for an upswing in non-black earth zone agriculture, and they must be carried out unswervingly and fully. That is in the first place. And in the second place, the local Party, government and economic bodies and work collectives must pay much more attention to making effective use of the potential accumulated there and also of the allocated resources.

Consolidation of the territorial principle of management calls for a higher level of economic guidance in each republic, region, city, and district. Proposals that come from the localities are at times not thought out thoroughly, are not dictated by the interests of the national economy but sooner by a sponger's mentality and sometimes even by self-seeking interests, which draw the economy into capital-intensive but low-productive projects. Due attention is not paid everywhere to raising the efficiency of production. In Kazakhstan, for example, share of national income per unit of fixed production assets is a third less than the U.S.S.R. average. In Turkmenia, the productivity of social labour has not grown at all in 15 years. Thought should be given to ways and means of tying in allocations for social needs more closely with the efficiency of the regional economy.

Comrades, every readjustment of the economic mechanism begins, as you know, with a readjustment of thinking, with a rejection of old stereotypes of thought and actions, with a clear understanding of the new tasks. This refers primarily to the activity of our economic personnel, to the executives of the central links of administration. Most of them have a clear idea of the Party's initiatives, actively support them, boldly tackle complicated assignments, and seek and find the best ways of carrying them out. This attitude deserves utmost support. It is hard, however, to understand those who take a wait-and-see attitude or who, like the Gogol character that thought up all kinds of fanciful ideas, do not actually do anything or change anything. There will be no reconciliation with the stance taken by executives of that kind. We will simply have to part ways with them. All the more so do we have to part ways with those who hope that everything will settle down and return to the old lines. That will not happen, comrades!

In our work of restructuring the economy and the economic mechanism it is more important than ever to rely on science. Life prompts us to take a new look at some theoretical ideas and concepts. This refers to such major problems as the interaction of the productive forces and the relations of production, socialist ownership and its economic forms, commodity-money relations, the coordination of centralism with the autonomy of economic organizations, and so on.

Practice has revealed the insolvency of the ideas that under the conditions of socialism **the conformity of production relations to the nature of the productive forces** is ensured automatically, as it were. In real life, everything is more complicated. Indeed, the socialist relations of production open up broad vistas for development of the productive forces. However, this requires constant improvement of the relations of production. And that means outdated economic management methods must be noticed in good time and replaced by new ones.

The forms of production relations and the economic management and guidance system now in operation took shape, basically, in the conditions of extensive economic development. These gradually grew out of date, began to lose their stimulating effect and in some respects became a brake. We are now striving to change the thrust of the economic mechanism, to overcome its costliness and to orient it towards a higher level of quality and efficiency, acceleration of scientific and technological progress and enhancement of the human factor. This is the main thing that will, in practice, signify further improvement of the socialist relations of production and will provide new scope for growth of the productive forces.

In this work we must not be stopped by long-established ideas, let alone by prejudices. If, for example, it is necessary and justifiable to apply economic normals instead of targets that are sent down as directives, this does not mean a retreat from the principles of planned guidance but only a change in its methods. The same applies to the need to broaden the independence, initiative and responsibility of associations and enterprises, to enhance their role as socialist commodity producers.

Unfortunately, there is a widespread view that any change in the economic mechanism should be regarded as being practically a retreat from the principles of socialism. In this connection I should like to emphasize the following: socio-economic acceleration and the concrete consolidation of socialism should be the supreme criterion in assessing the improvement of management and also of the entire system of the socialist relations of production.

The **aspects of socialist property** as the foundation of our social system acquire great relevance. Socialist property has a rich content; it includes a multifaceted system of relations in the use of the means of production and its results, their distribution among people, collectives, industries and regions of the country, and a whole range of economic interests. This whole complex of relations requires a definite combination and constant regulation, especially since it is in motion. Unless we gain a deep understanding of these changes in theoretical terms we cannot arrive at correct practical decisions or consequently take prompt steps to mould a true sense of commitment to socialist property.

We must provide the working people with greater incentives for putting the natural riches to the best possible use and multiplying them. How can this be done? It would be naive to imagine that the feeling of ownership can be inculcated by words. A person's attitude towards property is shaped, first and foremost, by the actual conditions in which he has been put, by his possibilities of influencing the organization of production, and the distribution and use of the results of work. The problem is thus one of further intensifying socialist self-government in the economic sphere.

The role of work collectives in the use of public property must be raised decisively. It is important to carry out unswervingly the principle according to which enterprises and associations are wholly responsible for operating without losses, while the state does not bear any responsibility for their obligations. This is where the substance of cost accounting lies. You cannot be a master of your country if you are not a real master in your factory or collective farm, in the shop or livestock farm. It is the duty of the work collective to answer for everything, to multiply the social wealth. Multiplication of the social wealth, as well as losses, should affect the income level of every member of the collective.

Also, of course, a reliable barrier is needed against all attempts to extract unearned income at the expense of public property. There are still "snatchers," persons who do not consider it a crime to steal from their plant everything that comes their way, and there are also sundry bribetakers and grabbers who do not stop at using their position for selfish purposes. The full force of the law and of public condemnation should be applied to all of them.

Attention should also be paid to the topical problem of regulating socialist property relations as guaranteeing unquestionable priority to the interests of the whole people over the interests of industries and regions. Ministries, departments and territorial bodies are not the owners of means of production, but merely

vehicles of state administration responsible to society for efficient use of the people's wealth. We cannot allow departmental and parochial interests to hinder realization of the advantages of socialist property.

We also stand for full clarity on the question of cooperative property. It has far from exhausted its possibilities in socialist production, in providing better satisfaction of people's needs. Many collective farms and other cooperative organizations demonstrate effective management. And wherever the need exists, utmost support should be given to the establishment and growth of cooperative enterprises and organizations. They should become widespread in the manufacture and processing of products, in housing construction and in construction on garden and vegetable allotments, and in the sphere of everyday services and trade.

It is also high time to overcome prejudices regarding **commodity-money** relations and underestimation of these relations in planned economic guidance. Refusal to recognize that they have an active influence on people's incentives for working better and on production efficiency leads to a weakening of the cost-accounting principle and to other undesirable consequences. Conversely, sound commodity-money relations on a socialist basis can create a situation and economic conditions under which the results depend entirely on the standards of the work done by the collective and on the ability and initiative of the managers.

Thus, comrades, we are obliged to assess the situation again and again and to resolutely reorganize everything that has become out of date, that has outlived itself. A profound understanding of this aim by Party activists, and by all personnel, as well as its realization by the broad masses are indispensable for success, are the point of departure in the exceptionally important work of building up a new economic mechanism and management system.

4. Activating Untapped Potentialities of Economic Growth

Comrades, the Party has worked out a strategy of deep-going transformations in the national economy and has begun to effect them. They will undoubtedly enable us to speed up economic growth. As was noted, however, this will require a good deal of time, but we must increase the growth rates at once, today. The specific feature of the 12th five-year-plan period consists in retooling the national economy on a new scientific and technological basis while simultaneously stepping up the rates of our advance.

From this there follows the need to mobilize all of our untapped potentialities to the maximum. The most sensible things to start with are those that do not require big outlays but yield quick and tangible returns. This is a matter of economic organizational and socio-psychological factors, of making better use of the production capacities that have been built up, of making the incentives more effective, of improving the level of organization and tightening discipline, and of eliminating mismanagement. Our untapped potentialities are at hand, and with a dedicated approach plus good management they promise high returns.

Just look at the capacities in service. The value of our country's fixed production assets exceeds 1.5 trillion rubles, but they are not all being used properly. This refers to a number of industries—to machine building, heavy industry, the power industry and agriculture. What is especially alarming is the fact that the most active assets—machinery, equipment, and machine tools—often stand idle or else are operated at half capacity. In the engineering industry, for example, metalworking machine tools are in use only slightly more than one shift a day. On the whole, our country annually loses billions of rubles' worth of industrial output because capacities are underloaded. Planning and economic bodies and work collectives at enterprises must do everything possible to ensure the operation of existing capacities at the designed level. In heavy industry alone, this would nearly double the output growth rates.

Failure to meet component delivery obligations is another hindrance. A violation of this kind in one place has a ripple effect throughout the national economy and lowers its efficiency. Jerky production also does tangible damage. It is no secret that at the beginning of the month many plants spend more time idle than functioning. But at the end of the month they begin a headlong rush, as a result of which output quality is low. This chronic disease must be eradicated. Strict observance of component delivery obligations is the duty of work collectives and also of management at all levels. We will not be able to achieve our aims unless we bring order into planning and supply, unless we create the necessary stocks, unless we impose higher financial liability at all levels for failure to meet obligations and for spoilage.

There are also great untapped potentialities in the use of manpower. Some economic managers complain of a manpower shortage. I think the complaints are groundless in most cases. If you look into the matter more closely you will see that there is no shortage of labour. But there is a low level of labour productivity, inadequate work organization and ineffective incentive schemes. Add to this the creation of superfluous jobs by planning and economic bodies. It is a well-known fact that some of our enterprises, design offices and research institutes have considerably larger staffs than their counterparts abroad that have a similar work load.

Once people at enterprises get down in earnest to improving work organization and incentives, to tightening discipline and setting higher demands they bring to light potentialities that had never been suspected previously. Application of the Shchokino method and the certification of work places convincingly confirm this. When Byelorussian railwaymen went over to a new pay system, with one person doing two or more different jobs, about 12,000 workers were soon freed for jobs in other sectors.

Also, of course, more attention must be paid to production mechanization and automation. In tackling this problem one does not have to wait for machines and devices to be designed and made somewhere else. A great deal can be accomplished by using one's own capabilities. For instance, efforts in this direction in Zaporozhye Region led, in three years, to a nine per cent reduction in the number of workers employed in manual jobs in industry and a fifteen per cent reduction of those in similar jobs in the building trades. I think that other regions, territories, and republics could do equally well. The important thing is to put persistent and dedicated effort into this, showing consideration for the people who have to perform manual operations, and striving to reduce production outlays.

Generally speaking, comrades, there are enormous untapped economic potentialities. We have not yet really begun to use many of them. The mentality of a substantial section of the managerial personnel at various levels took shape against the background of an abundance of resources. Many were spoiled by these riches, and that led to wastefulness. However, the situation changed long ago. The former influx of manpower has dwindled, and we have begun to pay a heavy price for every ton of oil, ore, and coal we extract and deliver. We cannot close our eyes to these facts; we must reckon with them. We must economize everywhere and always: on the job and at home. We must not ignore mismanagement and wastefulness. Nearly the whole of this year's growth in the national income is to come from raising labour productivity, with lower materials and energy consumption.

That is not simple but wholly feasible. All the more so since our country has accumulated experience in making thrifty use of resources; but it is not being spread fast enough. Party, YCL, and trade union organizations should constantly promote thrift and encourage those who make economical and rational use of raw materials, electrical energy, and fuel. We must make it a firm rule that overexpenditure of resources

is going to hurt you, while savings will be tangibly rewarded.

I would like to put special emphasis on the problem of **output quality standards.** This is more than our immediate and major untapped potentiality. Accelerated scientific and technological progress is impossible today without high quality standards. We are sustaining large material and moral losses because of flaws in design, deviations from production methods, the use of low-grade materials and poor finishing. This affects the precision and reliability of machines and instruments and hinders satisfaction of consumer demand for goods and services. Last year millions of metres of fabrics, millions of pairs of leather footwear and many other consumer items were returned to factories or marked down as inferior-grade goods. The losses are significant: wasted raw materials and the wasted labour of hundreds of thousands of workers. Radical measures must be taken to rule out the manufacture of defective or low-grade goods. The full force of pecuniary and administrative influence and legislation must be applied for this purpose. There is also evidently a need to adopt a special law regulating the quality of output.

Not long ago the Central Committee of the CPSU called upon Party committees, government and economic bodies, trade union and YCL organizations and all working people to make maximum efforts to radically improve the quality of goods. This must be a matter of concern for every Communist, for every Soviet citizen, for all who respect their own work, for all who cherish the honour of their enterprise, their industry, and the honour of our country.

A great deal of important and intensive work lies ahead of us. The first year of the five-year-plan period is a year of persistent work, a year of tests for every manager and work collective. We must come through this test, we must draw all the untapped economic potentialities into production, and consolidate the foundation for further transformations.

The industry and talent of Soviet citizens are the key to attaining the goal that has been set. It is now up to efficient organization and precise direction of this great force. The part to be played by socialist emulation in this effort cannot be overestimated. It should be spearheaded at raising the standards of work, economizing and thriftiness, and reaching the targets set before each collective and at each workplace. Enthusiasm and the growing skills have been and, we are confident, will be in future, as well, our reliable support.

c. Basic Guidelines of Social Policy

Comrades, questions of social policy, concern for man's welfare has always stood at the centre of our Party's attention.

The social sphere encompasses the interests of classes and social groups, nations and nationalities, the relationship between society and individual, the conditions of work and life, health and leisure. **It is the sphere in which the results of economic activity affecting the vital interests of the working people are realized, and the loftiest aims of socialism are carried into effect. It is the sphere in which the humanism of the socialist system, its qualitative difference from capitalism, is seen most distinctly and graphically.**

Socialism has eliminated the main source of social injustice—the exploitation of man by man, and inequality in relation to the means of production. Social justice reigns in all areas of socialist social relations. It is embodied in the real power of the people and the equality of all citizens before the law, the actual equality of nations, respect for the individual, and conditions for the all-round development of the personality. It is embodied in this and in broad social guarantees—guaranteed employment, access to education, culture, medical care and housing, concern for people in old age, and mother and child welfare. Strict observance in life of the principle of social justice is an important condition for the unity of the people, for society's political stability, and dynamic development.

But life, as they say, does not stand still. So we must look at the further development of the social sphere with new eyes, and appreciate the full measure of its increasing significance. We are committed to doing so by the general course worked out by the Party for the acceleration of socio-economic development, and by the programme aim of our Party, that of achieving the complete well-being and a free all-round development of all members of society.

The lessons of the past, too, require that we pay enhanced attention to social issues. The Party's Central Committee holds that central and local bodies underestimated pressing problems relating to the material base of the country's social and cultural sphere. As a result there arose what was in effect a "residuum" principle in allocating resources for its development. A certain overemphasis on technocratic approaches blunted attention to the social aspect of production, to everyday life, and leisure; and this could not but lessen people's interest in the results of their work, slacken discipline, and lead to other negative developments.

We are not at all indifferent to what ways and means are used to improve the material and spiritual aspects of life and what social consequences this entails. If private-owner, parasitic sentiments, and levelling tendencies begin to surface, this means that something is wrong about the choice of ways and means in our work, and has got to be rectified. During the discussion of the pre-congress documents, Party members and non-members spoke with concern of the slackening of control over the measure of labour and consumption, of irregularities as regards socialist justice, and of the need for stepping up the fight against unearned incomes. The gravity and importance of these questions is more than obvious.

In short, the attained level of development and the magnitude of the new tasks call for a long-term, deeply considered, integral, and strong social policy that would extend to all aspects of the life of society. A resolute turn is essential for the bodies of planning and management, for central and local economic organizations, to face up to the needs of the social sphere.

The objectives of social policy are thoroughly characterized in the drafts of the Party Programme and the Guidelines. Allow me to dwell on some issues related to its implementation.

1. Steady Enhancement of the People's Standard of Living, Consistent Promotion of Social Justice

The long-term plans for the country's social and economic development envisage **raising the people's well-being to a qualitatively new level.** In the coming fifteen years, the volume of resources allocated for the improvement of the conditions of life is to be doubled.

Real per capita incomes are to go up 60 to 80 per cent. The rise in incomes in the 12th five-year period is to cover millions of people. Huge funds are being earmarked for increasing the construction of homes, and of social and cultural facilities. Those are the plans. But we must mention the main thing: these plans will become reality only if every Soviet person works hard and efficiently. This applies to every person wherever he may work and whatever post he may occupy. What we accomplish is what we are going to have, and how we are going to live.

Socialist transformations have radically changed both the purpose of work and the attitude to work of the mass of workers and peasants. This is vividly reflected in the massive growth of socialist emulation. Relying on its wealth of experience, the Party intends to continue promoting these traditions, and to cultivate a conscious and creative attitude to work as the prime duty to society.

At election meetings and conferences, Communists have rightly raised the question not only of improving the moral incentives but of greatly enhancing material incentives, of instilling due order in this important matter. It was rightly pointed out that so-called "figure juggling," payment of unearned money, issue of unmerited bonuses, and setting "guaranteed" pay rates unrelated to the worker's contributed work, is impermissible. It should be said quite emphatically on this score that when equal payments are fixed for the work of a good employee and that of a negligent one—that is a gross violation of our principles. And first of all it is an intolerable distortion of socialism's basic principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," which expresses the substance of the social justice of the new social system.

The government's wage policy must ensure that incomes are strictly pegged to the quantity and quality of work done. Acting on this, increases of wage rates and basic salaries of factory and office workers in productive fields envisaged in the 12th five-year period will for the first time be effected largely at the expense of and within the limits of the funds earned by the enterprises themselves. This will be more actively conducive to the acceleration of technical progress and to heightening the efficiency of production.

Rates and salaries in the non-productive sphere will be increased out of centralized funds. A phased increase of the salaries of doctors and other medical workers was started last year. The increase of the rates and salaries of those employed in public education is to be completed in 1987, and a start is to be made that year in raising the salaries of cultural workers. Measures are being taken to extend the wage and salary advantages of factory and office workers in certain regions of Eastern Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

Many proposals made by working people relate to the role of social consumption funds in enforcing the principle of justice. These funds already account for nearly one third of the consumed material goods and services. We hold that they are in no way charity. They play an important role in providing equal access for members of society to education and culture, in equalizing conditions for the raising of children, and in easing the life of those who may, for one reason or another, need a grant or continuous assistance. At the same time, it is a means of encouraging and stimulating qualified, conscientious work. The Party intends to continue promoting the further growth and more effective use of these public funds. In the 12th five-year period they are to go up by 20 to 23 per cent.

Combating unearned incomes is an important function of the socialist state. We must admit today that owing to a slackening of control and for a number of other reasons groups of people have appeared with a distinct proprietary mentality and a scornful attitude to the interests of society.

Working people have legitimately raised the question of rooting out such things. The Central Committee agrees completely with these demands. It is considered necessary, already in the immediate future, to carry out additional measures against parasites, plunderers of socialist property, bribe takers and all others treading a path foreign to the work-oriented nature of our system. We should also give thought to proposals about perfecting our tax policy, including the institution of a progressive inheritance tax.

But while combating unearned income, we must not permit any shadow to fall on those who do honest work to earn a supplementary income. What is more, the state will promote the development of different forms of satisfying popular demand and providing services. We must attentively examine proposals for regulating individual labour. It stands to reason that such labour must be fully aligned with socialist economic principles and rest either on a cooperative basis or on contracts with socialist enterprises. Society, the population only stands to gain from this.

All the efforts to perfect the distributive relations will have little effect and the objecive of enhancing the people's well-being will not be attained if we fail to **saturate the market with diverse goods and services.** That, indeed, is the purpose of the Comprehensive Programme for the development of the production of consumer goods and services.

In the current five years, it is planned to secure higher growth rates for output of consumer goods and retail trade, and to considerably improve the organization of trade and public catering. Heavy industry has been instructed to enlist all enterprises for the production of consumer manufactures and to ensure output of high-quality materials and equipment for the light and food industries.

We must build up an up-to-date service industry as quickly as possible. That is the job of central organizations, but also—no less, and perhaps even more—of the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics, and all bodies of local government. Resolute measures must be taken to eliminate the glaring imbalance between demand and supply of services. This applies first of all to services that lighten domestic work and those connected with the improvement and renovation of flats, with tourism, and the servicing of cars—the demand for which is increasing at an especially swift rate. Responding to the proposals of the working people, we are promoting broad expansion of collective gardening and vegetable growing. This has gotten off the ground. But the work must be continued, and all artificial hindrances have got to be removed.

The social importance and acuteness of the **housing problem** has predetermined our earnest attitude to it. To provide every family with a separate flat or house by the year 2000 is in itself a tremendous but feasible undertaking. In the current five years, and especially in the five-year periods to follow, the scale of house-building and of modernizing available housing will increase. The building of cooperative and individual housing should be encouraged in every way. Here we see great untapped potentialities for expanding the building of homes. Those who are backing the construction of youth complexes are doing the right thing. The motivation and energy of young people can do a lot in this respect.

Much is being said about the need for seriously improving the distribution of housing. These questions must be decided on a broad democratic basis, under constant public control. Proposals for fair changes in the system of house rents by gearing them to the size and quality of all the occupied living space merit attention. There have been many complaints about the low quality of house-building. It is essential to work out measures that would stimulate a substantial improvement of quality, and also an improvement of the layout, the amenities, and architecture of our towns and villages.

Comrades, the qualitative changes in the social sphere are impossible without **deep-going changes in the character of labour.** The main role here is to be played by the technical modernization of the economy:

mechanization, automation, computerization and robotization, which, as I want to stress specially, must have a clear social orientation. Already in the current five years it is planned to sharply reduce the share of manual labour, and by the year 2000 to bring it down in the productive sphere to 15-20 per cent, relieving millions of people of manual operations. The further change in the character of labour in the context of the technological revolution makes high demands on education and occupational training. In substance, the task of **establishing a single system of continuous education** is now on the order of the day.

In recent years, the Central Committee has taken important steps in that direction. A reform has been launched of the **general and vocational school.** It should be said that the rate and extent of the measures taken under the reform are not satisfactory as yet. A more profound approach is required to the study of the scientific pillars of contemporary production and of the leading trends of its intensification. And what is especially urgent is that all pupils should learn the use of computers. In sum, it is essential that the Leninist principle of combining education with productive labour should be carried into effect more fully, that more radical improvements should be achieved in the results of education, in the training of young people for independent life and labour, and in bringing up politically conscious builders of the new society.

The Party is setting the task of **restructuring higher and specialized secondary education.** In recent years, the growing output of specialists was not accompanied by the requisite improvement in the quality of their training. The material base of the higher school is lagging behind gravely. The use of engineers and technicians must be considerably improved.

At present, proposals have been drawn up to alter the prevailing situation. It is in the interests of society to heighten the prestige of the work of engineers. The structure of higher and specialized secondary education is to be revised, so that the training of specialists will be abreast of the times and they will acquire substantial theoretical knowledge and practical skills. The relationship of higher and specialized secondary schools with various branches of the economy should evidently follow new lines, and their mutual stake in raising the level of training and retraining of cadres, in cardinally improving their use in production, should be enhanced.

Nothing is more valuable to a person and, for that matter, to society than health. **Health protection and health-building** is a matter of cardinal importance. We must consider the problems of health from broad social positions. Health depends above all on the conditions of work and life, and on the standard of living. It stands to reason, of course, that the public health service is also of tremendous importance. We must meet the needs of the population in high-quality medical treatment, health protection and pharmaceuticals as quickly as possible, and, moreover, everywhere. All this poses the question of the material and technical base of the health service in a new way, calling for the resolution of many urgent scientific, organizational, and personnel problems. Considerable funds will be needed, of course, and we must see to it that they are made available.

It has long since been noted, and most aptly, that health cannot be bought in a pharmacy. The main thing is a person's way of life and, among other things, how sensibly and wholesomely a person uses his or her spare time. The opportunities for this are at hand, but the organizational side of the matter is very poorly run. Much depends on the initiative of the public, on what people do of themselves. But in towns and villages, and within work collectives, they often wait for instructions and count on assistance from above. Why do we make poor use of what is already at our disposal—of clubhouses, stadiums, parks, and many other facilities? Why don't the Soviets, the trade unions, and the Komsomol tackle these questions properly? Why not start a movement for more active building of simple playgrounds and gymnasiums on the residential principle? And finally, why not organize sports, tourist and other clubs on a cooperative basis?

A nationwide struggle is on against hard drinking and alcoholism. In the name of the health of society and the individual we have instituted resolute measures and started a battle against traditions that were shaped and cultivated over the centuries. While we should have no illusions about what has been accomplished, we can safely say that drunkenness has been elbowed out of factories and that there is less of it in public places. The situation within families is improving, the industrial accident rate has declined, and there is better order. But extensive, persevering and varied efforts are still needed to secure a final break with prevailing habits. There must be no indulgence here!

We face the acute task of ensuring the **protection of nature and rational use of its resources.** Socialism with its plan-governed organization of production and humane world outlook is quite capable of imparting harmony to the relationship between society and nature. A system of measures to that effect has already been implemented in our country, and quite considerable funds are being allocated for this purpose. There are also practical results.

Still, in a number of regions the state of the environment is alarming. And the public, notably our writers, are quite right in calling for a more careful treatment of land, its bowels, lakes and rivers, and the plant and animal world.

Scientific and technical achievements are being much too slowly introduced in nature protection. Projects for building new and modernizing existing enterprises are still being based on outdated notions, with wasteless and low-waste production techniques being introduced on too small a scale. During the processing of minerals, most of the extracted mass goes to waste, polluting the environment. More resolute economic, legal and educational measures are required here. All of us living today are accountable for nature to our descendants and to history.

2. Further Upbuilding of Social-Class Relations and Relations Among the Peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Comrades, analysis of the **relations between classes and social groups** is of vital importance for a Marxist-Leninist party. By carefully taking into account both their common and their specific interests, the Communist Party ensures the firm unity of society and successful fulfilment of its most important and complex tasks.

The working class holds the vanguard place in Soviet society. Owing to its position in the socialist production system, its political experience, public spirit and high degree of organization and labour and political activity, the working class is the cementing force of our society and plays the leading role in further advancing socialism and building communism. Constant concern for the consolidation of the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia is the cornerstone of the policy pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. That is what gives us the potential to muster forces for the speedy accomplishment of the economic and social tasks we now set ourselves.

But the unity of socialist society by no means implies a levelling of public life. Socialism fosters the diversity of people's interests, requirements and abilities, and vigorously supports the initiative of public organizations that express this diversity. Moreover, socialism needs this diversity, which it regards as an essential condition for the further promotion of people's creative activity and initiative, and the competition of minds and talents, without which the socialist way of life and the onward march would be inconceivable.

Generally speaking, the matter stands as follows: unless we can elevate emulation in the field of production, of the economy, and also in the fields of science and the arts, to a new, incomparably higher level, we shall not be able to cope with the task of accelerating the country's socio-economic progress. To improve the socialist way of life is to ensure maximum opportunities for fostering collectivism, the cohesion of society, and for growing activity of the individual.

The **problems of consolidating the family** are attracting public attention. Our achievements in cultivating the new, socialist type of family are indisputable. Socialism has emancipated women from economic and social oppression, securing for them the opportunity to work, obtain an education and participate in public life on an equal footing with men. The socialist family is based on the full equality of men and women and their equal responsibility for the family.

Yet, the formation of the new type of family is no simple matter. It is a complicated process that involves many problems. In particular, although the divorce rate has dropped in the past few years, it is still high. There is still a large number of unhappy families. All this has a negative effect, above all, on the upbringing of children, as well as on the morale of men and women, on their labour and public activity. It stands to reason that society cannot be indifferent to these things. The strong family is one of its principal pillars.

Young families need special care. Young people must be well trained for family life. More thought should be given to the system of material assistance to newlyweds, above all in solving their housing and everyday problems. It would apparently be a good thing to consider the proposals for improving relevant legislation with a view to heightening the citizen's responsibility for consolidating the family. But that is not the only point. Governmental bodies and mass organizations must so conduct their practical work as to contribute to the maximum consolidation of the family and its foundations. This means creating conditions for joint public celebrations and cultural and sports outings, for family recreation. It is necessary to honour families with a succession of generations having worked in the same trade, support good family traditions, and use the experience of senior generations in bringing up young people. Here a large, useful contribution could be made by the mass media, television, literature, films, and the theatre.

Securing living and working conditions for women that would enable them to successfully combine their maternal duties with active involvement in labour and public activity is a prerequisite for solving many family problems. In the 12th five-year period we are planning to extend the practice of letting women work a shorter day or week, or to work at home. Mothers will have paid leaves until their babies are 18 months old. The number of paid days-off granted to mothers to care for sick children will be increased. The lower-income families with children of up to 12 years of age will receive child allowances. We intend to fully satisfy the people's need for preschool children's institutions within the next few years.

Thought should also be given to appropriate organizational forms. Why not reinstitute women's councils within work collectives and residentially, integrating them in a single system with the Soviet Women's Committee at its head? Women's councils could help to resolve a wide range of social problems arising in the life of our society.

Concern for the older generation, for war and labour veterans, should rank as one of the top priorities. The Party and the Soviet government will do everything possible for the pensioners' well-being to rise with the growth of society's prosperity. In the 12th five-year period it is planned to increase the minimum old-age, disability and loss-of-breadwinner pensions paid to factory and office workers and to raise the previously fixed pensions of collective farmers. But man does not live by bread alone, as the saying goes. According to information reaching the Central Committee, many retired people feel left out of things, as it were. Evidently, additional measures should be taken by governmental and nongovernmental organizations, centrally and locally, to help the pensioners become more actively involved in economic and socio-political life. After all, we are talking of over 50 million Soviet men and women.

The setting up of a national mass organization of war and labour veterans could be a new step in this direction. It could be instrumental in involving highly experienced people in social and political affairs, and first of all in educating the rising generation. The pensioners' involvement, both on a cooperative and on an individual, family basis, in the service industry or trade, producing consumer goods or turning out farm produce could be highly useful. The new organization could be helpful in improving everyday and medical services for pensioners and enhancing their leisure opportunities. As we see it, it will certainly have a lot of work to do.

Comrades, of tremendous importance for the multinational Soviet state is **to upgrade relations among the peoples of the U.S.S.R.** The foundation for solving the nationalities problem in our country was laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Relying on Lenin's doctrine and on the gains of socialism, the Communist Party has done gigantic transformative work in this area. Its results are an outstanding gain of socialism which has enriched world civilization. National oppression and inequality of all types and forms have been done away with once and for all. The indissoluble friendship among nations and respect for the national culture and dignity of all peoples have taken firm root in the minds of tens of millions of people. The Soviet people is a qualitatively new social and international community, cemented by the same economic interests, ideology and political goals.

However, our achievements must not create the impression that there are no problems in the national processes. Contradictions are inherent in all development, and are unavoidable in this sphere as well. The main thing is to see their emergent aspects and facets, to search for and give prompt and correct answers to the questions posed by life. This is all the more important because a tendency towards national isolation, parochialism and parasitism still persists and makes itself felt quite painfully at times.

In elaborating guidelines for a long-term nationalities policy, it is especially important to see to it that all the republics' contribution to the development of an integrated national economic complex should match their increased economic and intellectual potential. It is in the supreme interests of our multinational state and of each of the republics to promote cooperation in production, collaboration and mutual assistance among the republics. It is the task of Party organizations and the Soviets to make the fullest possible use of available potentialities in the common interest and to persistently overcome all signs of parochialism.

We are legitimately proud of the achievements of the Soviet Union's multinational socialist culture. By drawing on the wealth of national forms and colours, it is developing into a unique phenomenon in world culture. However, the healthy interest in all that is valuable in each national culture must by no means degenerate into attempts to isolate oneself from the objective process by which national cultures interact and come closer together. This applies, among other things, to certain works of literature, art and research where, under the guise of national undividuality, attempts are made to depict in idyllic tones reactionary nationalist and religious survivals which run counter to our ideology, the socialist way of life, and our scientific world outlook.

Our Party's tradition, traceable to Lenin, of being particularly circumspect and tactful in all that concerns the nationalities policy and the interests of every nation or nationality, national feelings, calls at the same time for resolute struggle against national narrow-

mindedness and arrogance, nationalism and chauvinism, no matter what their guise may be. We Communists must unswervingly follow Lenin's sage behests, must creatively apply them to the new conditions, and be extremely heedful and principled as regards relations among peoples in the name of the further consolidation of fraternal friendship among all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The social policy elaborated by the Party has many aspects to it and is fully feasible. However, its success will largely hinge on the societal awareness of the cadres, on persistence and initiative in carrying out our plans. Concern for people's needs and interests must be an object of unflagging attention on the part of Party, government and economic organizations, of the trade unions and of every executive. If we succeed in securing a decisive switch to the social sphere, many of the problems that face us today and will face us tomorrow will be solved far more quickly and much more effectively than has so far been the case.

III.

FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOCIETY AND PROMOTION OF SOCIALIST SELF-GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

Comrades, Lenin regarded democracy, the creative initiative of the working people, as the principal development force of the new system. Incomparable in his faith in the people, he showed concern for raising the level of the political activity and culture of the masses, stressing that illiterate people were outside politics. Nearly seventy years have elapsed since then. The general educational and cultural level of Soviet people has risen immeasurably and their socio-political experience has grown richer. This means that the possibility and need for every citizen to participate in managing the affairs of the state and society have grown enormously.

Democracy is the wholesome and pure air without which a socialist public organism cannot live a full-blooded life. Hence, when we say that socialism's mighty potential is not being used to the full in our country, we mean that the **acceleration of society's development is inconceivable and impossible without a further development of all the aspects and manifestations of socialist democracy.**

Bearing that in mind, the Party and its Central Committee are taking measures aimed at enhancing the democratic character of the socialist system. Among them are steps to invigorate the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the work collectives and the people's control bodies, and to promote publicity. But all that has been and is being done should be assessed in terms of the scale and complexity of our new tasks, rather than by yesterday's yardsticks. As stressed in the new text of the Party Programme, these tasks call for consistent and unswerving furtherance of **socialist self-government by the people.**

In socialist society, particularly under the present circumstances, government should not be the privilege of a narrow circle of professionals. We know from our extensive experience as well as theory that the socialist system can develop successfully only when the people really run their own affairs, when millions of people are involved in political life. That is self-government by the working people, as Lenin saw it. It is the essence of Soviet power. The elements of self-government develop within rather than outside our statehood, increasingly penetrating all aspects of state and public life, enriching the content of democratic centralism and strengthening its socialist character.

The Party is the guiding force and the principal guarantor of the development of socialist self-government. Playing the leading role in society, the Party is itself the highest form of a self-governing socio-political organization. By promoting inner-Party democracy and enhancing the activity of Communists at all levels of the political system, the CPSU sets the right direction for the process of furthering the socialist self-government by the people and broadening the participation of the masses and of each person in the affairs of the country.

The result of the revolutionary creativity of the working people, the **Soviets of People's Deputies** have stood the test of time, displaying their viability and vast potentialities in securing full power for the people, in uniting and mobilizing the masses. The very logic of the development of socialist democracy speaks of the urgent need for making the maximum use of these potentialities of Soviet representative bodies.

That the activity of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics is becoming more businesslike and effective with each passing year is most welcome. It is their duty to progressively improve our legislation, supervise law enforcement and check on the actual performance of every state body and every functionary. At their sessions, the Supreme Soviets should lay greater emphasis on discussing proposals submitted by trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations, the reports of administrative bodies, the situation in different branches of the economy, and the development of the various regions.

I should like to draw special attention of congress delegates to the activity of the **local Soviets.** Today they can and must serve as one of the most effective means of mobilizing the masses for the effort to accelerate the country's socio-economic development. As they receive the electorate's mandate, the local government bodies assume responsibility for all aspects of life on their territory. If someone may be allowed to say, "That is none of my business," for the Soviets such an approach is ruled out. Housing and education, public health and consumer goods, trade and the service industry, public transport and the protection of nature are all paramount concerns of the Soviets. Whenever we hear complaints from working people on these subjects, and that is still fairly frequent, it means that the Soviets are lacking in efficiency and initiative, and that their control is slack. But while making legitimate demands on the local Soviets, we should not be blind to the fact that they are not in a position to tackle some of

the local problems as yet; there is excessive centralization in matters which are not always clearly visible from the centre and can be much better tackled locally.

That is why we have resolutely set our sights on increasing the independence and activity of the local government bodies. Proposals to this effect are currently being worked out by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. Their purpose is to make every Soviet full and responsible master in all things relating to meeting people's everyday needs and requirements, in using the allocated funds and the local potentialities and reserves, and in coordinating and supervising the work of all organizations as regards services for the population. In this connection, we must make a thorough examination of the relationship between the Soviets and the centrally-managed enterprises in their territories, and give the Soviets a greater interest in the performance of the latter.

The sessions of the Soviets should be conducted in a far more effective way, the analytical and supervisory activity of standing committees should be more vigorous, and the practice of deputies' enquiries should be improved. The committees' recommendations and the deputies' criticisms and proposals should be carefully considered and taken into account by the executive bodies.

While mapping out further improvements of the work of the Soviets, we should remember that none of them will yield the desired results unless backed by the deputies' initiative. The Party will continue to see to it that deputies are elected from among the worthiest people who are capable of effectively running state affairs, and that the Soviets' membership should be systematically renewed. It is high time necessary corrections were made in our election procedures. There is quite a number of outstanding problems here awaiting solution.

The Party has always deemed it its duty to heighten the authority of the people's representatives, and, at the same time, to enhance their responsibility to the electorate in every way possible. The title of a deputy is not just something that goes with one's office; it is not an honorary privilege; it means a lot of hard work at the Soviet and among the population. And we must do all we can for the strict observance of the law on the status of deputies, and see to it that every deputy should be afforded every opportunity to exercise his or her powers.

The development of self-government by the people calls for **a further enhancement of democratic principles in administration,** in the activity of the Soviets' executive committees, of their apparatus, and of all other government bodies. Most of the people working there are competent and take what they do close to heart. One should, however, always remember that, even if staffed by masterminds, no apparatus will ever achieve anything unless it relies on the working people's interested support and participation in government. The times are ever more exacting and demanding as regards the work of the apparatus. And there are quite a few shortcomings here; one often encounters departmental or local parochialism, irresponsibility, red tape and bureaucratic callousness. One of the main reasons for this is the slackening of control over the activity of the apparatus by the working people, the Soviets themselves, and the public organizations.

Bearing all this in mind, the Party has set itself the task of activating all the instrumentalities that actually enable every citizen to actively influence administrative decision-making, verify fulfilment of decisions, and get the requisite information about the activity of the apparatus. In particular, this purpose is to be served by a system of regular reports by all administrative bodies to work collectives and general meetings of residents. Much can be done in this area by people's control committees, groups and teams, by voluntary trade union inspectors, and the mass media.

The elective bodies themselves should be more exacting and strict towards their own apparatus. One cannot overlook the fact that executives who remain in office for long periods tend to lose their feel for the new, to shut themselves off from the people by instructions they have themselves concocted, and sometimes even hold back the work of elective bodies. It is obviously time to work out a procedure which would enable the Soviets, and all public bodies in general, to evaluate the suitability of the responsible officials of their apparatus after every election, and make such personnel changes as prove desirable.

Ever more active involvement of the **public organizations** in governing the country is needed in our time. When the work of our public organizations is considered from this angle, however, it becomes obvious that many of them are lacking in initiative. Some of them try to operate above all through their paid officials, in a bureaucratic way, with too little enlistment of the masses. In other words, the popular creative vigour of the social organizations is not being fully realized by far.

The trade unions are our largest mass organization. On the whole, they do much to meet the needs of factory and office workers and collective farmers, to promote emulation, tighten discipline and increase labour productivity. Still, trade union committees are in many cases lacking in militancy and resolve in defending the working people's legitimate interests, ensuring labour protection and safety, and securing construction and proper running of health-building, sports and cultural facilities. Understandably, such passivity suits those managers for whom production sometimes obscures the people. The trade unions, however, should always give priority to social policy, to promoting the working people's interests. Properly speaking, this is the basic purpose of their activity. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and other trade union bodies enjoy extensive rights and control vast enough funds, both the state's and their own. It is up to them, therefore, to make wide and sure use of them, instead of waiting for somebody else to fulfil the tasks they are charged with.

Comrades, our future largely depends on the young people we are bringing up today. That is the task of the whole Party, of the whole people. It is the most important and basic task of the **Leninist Young Communist League.** The young people in our country are hard-working, ready for exploits and self-sacrifice, and devoted to socialism. Nonetheless, it is the duty of the older generations to do everything they can for those who will replace them to be still more intelligent, more capable and better educated, worthy of taking the baton and carrying into the future the ideals of justice and freedom bequeathed to us by the Great October Revolution.

As Lenin said, it is impossible to master communism through books alone, it is impossible to cultivate a sense of responsibility without charging people with responsible tasks. The young people of the 1980s are broad-minded, well-educated and vigorous. I should say, they are all set for action and look for a chance to show their worth in all areas of public life. And the YCL must do everything to support their drive in all areas—the national economy, science, technology, in mastering knowledge and culture, in political life, and in defending the Motherland. This effort, more than any other, should be of a questing nature, interesting and appealing to young people, and closely tied up with the needs of the young in production, study, home life, and leisure.

Together with the YCL, the Party, government and economic bodies should consistently seek to promote deserving young people to high posts in management, production, science and culture. We say: in our country, all roads are open to young people. That is true. But persistent efforts are needed for these words not to lose lustre and the road for young people to be really wide.

By and large, the CPSU Central Committee deems it advisable to take further steps to increase the role of the trade unions, the YCL, the unions of creative workers and the voluntary societies in the system of the people's socialist self-government. In particular, it is planned to extend the range of questions which governmental bodies can decide only with the participation or prior agreement of trade union, YCL or women's organizations and to grant these organizations the right to suspend, in some cases, the implementation of administrative decisions.

Our Party Programme aims at the most effective exercise of all forms of **direct democracy**, of direct participation by the popular masses in the elaboration, adoption and execution of governmental and other decisions. An enormous role is played here by the **work collective**, which operates in all spheres of the life of society, and above all in the national economy. The granting of broader powers to enterprises, the introduction of cost accounting and promotion of the spirit of socialist enterprise will become truly effective only if the working man himself displays greater activity. We cannot put up with the still existing instances of workers not knowing the production plans of their own enterprise, of their suggestions not getting due attention and not being taken into account. These instances show that in some places the force of inertia still determines the state of affairs, hinders the involvement of factory and office workers in management and impedes the process of fostering among them the sense of being the masters of production.

The Law on Work Collectives adopted two years ago has indisputably stimulated initiatives by work collectives. But we cannot yet say this Law is producing the results we expected. This is evident from the CPSU Central Committee's examination of the practice of applying it at the Minsk Motor Works and elsewhere. Our conclusion is unambiguous: it is necessary to radically improve the mechanism that enables us to make the democratic principles and norms of the Law operative in everyday practice. Step by step we must extend the range of issues on which the work collective's decisions are final, enhance the role of the general meetings of factory and office workers and raise their responsibility for the implementation of their decisions. There is also the suggestion that a council, say, of the work collective, made up of representatives of the management, Party, trade union and YCL organizations, the team councils, rank-and-file workers, and specialists, should function, in the period between general meetings, both at the level of teams and the enterprise as a whole.

Today the advanced teams which apply the cost-accounting principle are already becoming primary self-government units that elect their managers. Experience has shown the viability of this practice. It has confirmed that in extending democracy in economic management it appears advisable to extend the elective principle to all team leaders and then gradually to some other categories of managerial personnel—foremen, shift, sector or shop superintendents, and state-farm department managers. Long years of experience testify that this is the direction in which we must look for modern forms of combining centralism and democracy, of combining one-man management and the elective principle in the management of the national economy.

We pay constant attention to strict observance of the democratic principles of managing collective farms and other cooperative organizations, observing their rules. Of late our efforts in this sphere have somehow relaxed, and there has been too much interference in the activities of cooperative societies. Party and government bodies must see to it that collective-farm or cooperative self-government is exercised unfailingly, that any attempts to bring pressure to bear and to practise armchair management are thwarted.

Our Constitution provides for nationwide discussions and referendums on major issues of our country's life and for discussions of decisions passed by local Soviets. We must expedite the drafting of a law on this highly important question. We must make better use of such reliable channels for the development of direct democracy as meetings of citizens, constituents' mandates, people's letters, the press, radio, TV, as well as all other means of eliciting public opinion and of making a quick and attentive response to the people's needs and mood.

More openness is a matter of principle to us. It is a political issue. Without publicity there is not, nor can there be, democracy, political creativity by the citizenry and their participation in administration and management. If you like, this is an earnest of a responsible, statesmanlike attitude to the common cause on the part of millions upon millions of factory workers, collective farmers and intellectuals and a point of departure in the mental readjustment of our cadres.

When the subject of openness comes up, greater caution when speaking about the shortcomings, omissions and difficulties inevitable in any ongoing effort is sometimes advised. There can only be one answer to this, a Leninist answer: Communists want the truth, always and under all circumstances. The experience of the past year has shown how forcefully Soviet people support uncompromising appraisal of everything that impedes our advance. But those who have grown used to doing slipshod work, to practising deception, indeed feel uncomfortable in the glare of publicity, when everything done in the state and in society is under the people's control and is in full public view. Therefore, we must make openness an unfailingly operative system. It is needed in the centre and no less, perhaps much more, in the localities, wherever people live and work. They want to know, and should know, not only decisions taken on a countrywide scale but also decisions taken by local Party and government bodies, factory managements and trade unions.

The whole range of the **Soviet citizen's socio-political and personal rights and freedoms** should promote the broadening and further development of socialist democracy. The Party and the state regard the deepening of these rights and freedoms and the strengthening of their guarantees as their primary duty. But the gist of socialism is that the rights of citizens do not, and cannot, exist outside their duties, just as there cannot be duties without corresponding rights.

It is essential to stimulate the activity of our citizens, of one and all, in constructive work, in eliminating shortcomings, abuses and all other unhealthy phenomena, all departures from our legal and moral standards. Democracy was and remains a major lever of **strengthening socialist legality**, and firm legality was and remains an inseparable part of our democracy.

A good deal of work has been done lately to strengthen law and order in all spheres of the life of society. But the efforts in this direction must not be slackened in any way. We must keep on improving Soviet laws. Our legislation—the civil, labour, financial, administrative, economic and criminal laws—must help more vigorously in introducing economically viable management methods, in exercising effective control over the measure of labour and consumption and in translating the principles of social justice into reality.

We must persistently enhance the responsibility of the law-enforcement and other bodies, and strengthen the legal service in Soviets and in the national economy, and state arbitration, and also improve the legal education of the population. As before, full use must be made of Soviet legislation in combating crime and other breaches of the law, so that the people of all towns and villages can rest assured that the state concerns itself with their peace and inviolability, and that not a single wrongdoer evades the punishment deserved.

We must very strictly observe the democratic principles of justice, the equality of citizens before the law and other guarantees that protect the interests of the state and of every citizen. In this context it is necessary to take vigorous steps to enhance the role of the procurators' supervision, to improve the functioning of

courts of law and the bar, and to complete, in the very near future, the drafting of a law, as provided for by the Constitution, on the procedure of filing appeals in court against unlawful actions by officials that infringe the rights of citizens. Naturally, the more vigorously Party and government bodies, trade unions and the YCL, work collectives, and volunteer public order squads, all the people, are involved in such effort, the more fully legality and public order will be ensured.

In the context of the growing subversive activity by imperialist secret services against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, greater responsibility devolves upon the **state security bodies.** Under the Party's leadership and scrupulously observing Soviet laws, these bodies are conducting extensive work to expose enemy intrigues, to frustrate all kinds of subversion and to protect our country's sacred frontiers. We are convinced that Soviet security forces and border-guards will always measure up to the demands made of them, will always display vigilance, self-control and firmness in the struggle against any encroachment on our political and social system.

Taking into account the complicated international situation and the growing aggressiveness of the reactionary imperialist quarters, the CPSU Central Committee and its Political Bureau pay unflagging attention to our country's **defence capability, to the combat might of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R.** to the tightening of military discipline. The Soviet Army and Navy possess modern arms and equipment, well-trained servicemen and skilled officers and political cadres who are wholly dedicated to the people. They acquit themselves with honour in the most complicated, and at times rigorous, situations. Today we can declare with all responsibility that the defence capability of the U.S.S.R. is maintained on a level that reliably protects the peaceful life and labours of the Soviet people.

The Party and the state have always sought to make sure that the Soviet soldiers and officers in the performance of their by no means easy duty, should always be conscious of being the object of the care and attention of society, that our armed forces are a school of civic responsibility, fortitude and patriotism.

It is clear, comrades, that here, at this congress, we are merely outlining the general framework and the main contours of perfecting our democracy, statehood, and the entire Soviet political system. Implementation of the Congress decisions will undoubtedly bring to light fresh manifestations of the people's initiative and new forms of mass socio-political creativity.

IV.

BASIC AIMS AND DIRECTIONS OF THE PARTY'S FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY

Comrades,

The tasks underlying the country's economic and social development also determine the CPSU's strategy on the world scene. Its principal objective is perfectly clear—to ensure the Soviet people the possibility of working under conditions of enduring peace and freedom. Such, in essence, is the Party's primary programme requirement of our foreign policy. To fulfil it in the present situation means, above all, to terminate the material preparations for a nuclear war.

After having weighed all the aspects of the situation that has taken shape, the CPSU has put forward a coherent programme for the total abolition of weapons of mass destruction before the end of this century, a programme that is historic in terms of its dimensions and significance. Its realization would open for humankind a fundamentally new period of development and give it the opportunity to concentrate entirely on constructive labour.

As you know, we have addressed our proposals not only through the traditional diplomatic channels but also directly to world public opinion, to the peoples. The time has come to have a thorough understanding of the harsh realities of our day: nuclear weapons harbour a hurricane with the potential of sweeping the human race off the face of the earth. Our address once more underscores the open, honest, Leninist character of the CPSU's foreign policy strategy.

Socialism resolutely rejects war as a means of settling political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes between states. Our ideal is a world without weapons and violence, a world in which each people freely chooses its path of development, its way of life. This is an expression of the humanism of communist ideology, of its moral values. That is why the **struggle against the nuclear menace, against the arms race, for the preservation and strengthening of universal peace** remains the fundamental direction of the Party's activities on the international scene.

There is no alternative to this policy. This is all the more true in periods of tension in international affairs. I would say that never in the decades since the war has the situation in the world been so explosive, and, consequently, so complex and uncongenial as in the first half of the 1980s. The Right-wing group that came to power in the U.S.A. and its main NATO fellow-travellers made a sharp turn from détente to a policy of military force. They have adopted doctrines that reject good-neighbourly relations and cooperation as a principle of world development, as a political philosophy of international relations. The Administration in Washington remained deaf to our calls for an end to the arms race and an improvement of the situation.

Perhaps it is not worthwhile churning up the past? Especially today when in Soviet-U.S. relations there seem to be signs of a change for the better, and realistic trends are again discernible in the actions and attitudes of the leadership of some NATO nations. We believe that it is worthwhile, for the sharp cooling of the international climate in the first half of the 1980s was a further reminder that nothing comes of itself: peace has to be fought for, and this has to be a persevering and meaningful fight. We have to look for, find, and use even the smallest opportunity in order—while this is still possible—to reverse the trend towards an escalation of the threat of war. Aware of this, the Central Committee of the CPSU at its April

plenary meeting once again analyzed the character and dimensions of the nuclear threat and defined the practical steps that could lead to an improvement of the situation. We were guided by the following considerations of principle.

First. The character of present-day weaponry leaves no country with any hope of safeguarding itself solely with military and technical means, for example, by building up a defence, even the most powerful. To ensure security is increasingly seen as a political problem, and it can only be resolved by political means. In order to progress along the road of disarmament what is needed is, above all, the will. Security cannot be built endlessly on fear of retaliation, in other words, on the doctrines of "containment" or "deterrence." Apart from the absurdity and amorality of a situation in which the whole world becomes a nuclear hostage, these doctrines encourage an arms race that may sooner or later go out of control.

Second. In the context of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. security can only be mutual, and if we take international relations as a whole it can only be universal. The highest wisdom is not in caring exclusively for oneself, especially to the detriment of the other side. It is vital that all should feel equally secure, for the fears and anxieties of the nuclear age generate uncertainty in politics and concrete actions. It is becoming extremely important to take the critical significance of the time factor into account. The appearance of new systems of weapons of mass destruction steadily shortens time and narrows down the possibilities for adopting political decisions on questions of war and peace in crisis situations.

Third. The U.S.A., its military-industrial machine remains the locomotive of militarism, for so far it has no intention of slowing down. This has to be taken into consideration, of course. But we are well aware that the interests and aims of the military-industrial complex are not at all the same as the interests and aims of the American people, as the actual national interests of that great country.

Naturally, the world is much larger than the U.S.A. and its occupation bases on foreign soil. And in world politics one cannot confine oneself to relations with any single, even a very important, country. As we know from experience, this only fosters the arrogance of strength. Needless to say, we attach considerable significance to the state and character of the relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. Our countries have quite a few points of coincidence, and there is the objective need to live in peace with each other, to cooperate on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, and there is no other basis.

Fourth. The world is in the process of swift changes, and it is not within anybody's power to maintain a perpetual status quo in it. It consists of scores of countries, each having its own perfectly legitimate interests. All without exception face a task of fundamental significance: without being blind to social, political, and ideological differences all have to master the science and art of restraint and circumspection on the international scene, to live in a civilized manner, in other words, under conditions of civil international intercourse and cooperation. But to give this cooperation wide scope there has to be an all-embracing system of international economic security that would in equal measure protect every nation against discrimination, sanctions, and other attributes of imperialist, neocolonialist policy. Alongside disarmament such a system can become a dependable pillar of international security generally.

In short, the modern world has become much too small and fragile for wars and a policy of force. It cannot be saved and preserved if thinking and actions which for centuries have been predicated on the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts are not shed once and for all, irrevocably.

This means the realization that it is no longer possible to win an arms race, or nuclear war for that matter. The continuation of this race on Earth, let alone its spread to outer space, will accelerate the already critically high rate of stockpiling and perfecting nuclear weapons. The situation in the world may become such that it will no longer depend upon the intelligence or will of political leaders. It may become captive to technology, to technocratic military logic. Consequently, not only nuclear war itself but also the preparations for it, in other words, the arms race, the **striving for military superiority can, objectively speaking, bring no political dividents to anybody.**

Further, this means understanding that the present level of the balance of the nuclear capabilities of the opposing sides is much too high. For the time being this ensures **equal danger** to each of them. But only for the time being. Continuation of the nuclear arms race will inevitably heighten this equal threat and may bring it to a point where even parity will cease to be a factor of military-political deterrence. Consequently, it is vital, in the first place, to dramatically reduce the level of military confrontation. In our age, genuine equal security is guaranteed not by an excessively high but by the lowest possible level of strategic parity, from which nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction must be totally excluded.

Lastly, this means realizing that in the present situation there is no alternative to cooperation and interaction between all countries. Thus, the objective—I emphasize, objective—conditions have taken shape in which confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed **only and exclusively in forms of peaceful competition and peaceful contest.**

For us peaceful coexistence is a political course which the U.S.S.R. intends to go on following unswervingly. In ensuring the continuity of its foreign policy strategy, the CPSU will pursue a vigorous international policy stemming from the realities of the world we live in. Of course, the problem of international security cannot be resolved by one or two, even very intensive, peace offensives. Success can only be brought by consistent, methodical, and persevering effort.

Continuity in foreign policy has nothing in common with a simple repetition of what has been done, especially in tackling the problems that have piled up. What is wanted is a high degree of accuracy in assessing one's own possibilities, restraint, and an eminently high sense of responsibility when decisions are made. What is wanted is firmness in upholding principles and postures, tactical flexibility, a readiness for mutually acceptable compromises, and an orientation on dialogue and mutual understanding rather than on confrontation.

As you know, we have made a series of unilateral steps—we put a moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, cut back the number of these missiles, and stopped all nuclear tests. In Moscow and abroad there have been talks with leaders and members of the governments of many countries. The Soviet-Indian, Soviet-French, and Soviet-U.S. summits were necessary and useful steps.

The Soviet Union has made energetic efforts to give a fresh impetus to the negotiations in Geneva, Stockholm, and Vienna, the purpose of which is to scale down the arms race and build up confidence between states. Negotiations are always a delicate and complex matter. Of cardinal importance here is to lead up to a mutually acceptable balance of interests. To turn weapons of mass destruction into an object of political scheming is, to say the least, immoral, while in political terms this is irresponsible.

Lastly, concerning our Statement of January 15 of this year. Taken as a whole, our programme is essentially a fusion of the philosophy of shaping a safe world in the nuclear-space age with a platform of concrete action. The Soviet Union proposes approaching the problems of disarmament in their totality, for in

terms of security they are interlinked. I am not speaking of rigid linkages or attempts at "backing down" in one direction in order to erect barricades in another. What I am talking about is a plan of concrete actions strictly measured out in terms of time. The U.S.S.R. intends to work perseveringly for its realization, regarding it as the **central line of our foreign policy for the coming years.**

The **Soviet military doctrine** is also entirely in keeping with the letter and spirit of the initiatives we have put forward. Its orientation is unequivocally defensive. In the military sphere we intend to act in such a way as to give nobody grounds for fears, even imagined, about their security. But to an equal extent we and our allies want to be rid of the feeling that we are threatened. The U.S.S.R. undertook the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and it will abide strictly by that obligation. But it is no secret that scenarios for a nuclear strike against us exist. We have no right to overlook this. The Soviet Union is the most convinced opponent of nuclear war in any variant. Our country stands for the complete elimination of weapons of mass destruction, for limiting the military potential to reasonable adequacy. But the character and level of this ceiling continues to be limited by the attitudes and actions of the U.S.A. and its bloc partners. In these circumstances we repeat over and over again: **the Soviet Union lays no claim to greater security than that enjoyed by others, but it will not settle for less.**

I should like to draw attention to the problem of verification, to which we attach special significance. We have declared on several occasions that the U.S.S.R. is open to verification, that we are interested in it as much as anybody else. All-embracing, strictest verification is perhaps the key element of the disarmament process. The crux of the matter, to our mind, is that **there can be no disarmament without verification, but verification without disarmament makes no sense.**

There is yet another matter of principle. We have stated our attitude to "star wars" quite substantively. The U.S.A. has already drawn many of its allies into this programme. There is the danger that things may become irreversible. Before it is too late, it is imperative to find a realistic solution **guaranteeing that the arms race does not spread to outer space.** The "star wars" programme cannot be permitted to be used as a stimulus for a further arms race or as a roadblock to radical disarmament. Tangible progress in what concerns a drastic reduction of nuclear capabilities can be of much help to surmount this obstacle. For that reason the Soviet Union is prepared to make a substantial step in that direction, to resolve the question of intermediate-range missiles in the European zone separately—without a direct link to problems related to strategic armaments and outer space.

The Soviet programme has touched the hearts of millions of people, and among political leaders and public personalities interest in it continues to grow. The times today are such that it is hard to brush it off. The attempts to sow doubt in the Soviet Union's constructive commitment to accelerate, to tackle this pressing problem of our day—the destruction of nuclear weapons—in practical terms are becoming less and less convincing. Nuclear disarmament should not be the exclusive domain of political leaders. The whole world is now pondering this, for it is a question of life itself.

But, also, it is necessary to take into account the reaction of the centres of power that hold in their hands the keys to the success or failure of disarmament talks. Of course, the U.S. ruling class, to be more exact its most egoistical groups connected with the military-industrial complex, have other aims that are clearly antipodal to ours. For them disarmament spells out a loss of profits and a political risk, for us it is a blessing in all respects—economically, politically, and morally.

We know our principal opponents and have accumulated complex and extensive experience in our relations and talks with them. The day before yesterday, we received President Reagan's reply to our Statement of January 15. The U.S. side began to set forth its considerations in greater detail at the talks in Geneva. We shall, of course, carefully study everything the U.S. side has to say on these matters. However, since the reply was received literally on the eve of the Congress, the U.S. Administration evidently expects—at any rate that is what we assume—our attitude to the U.S. stand to be made known to the world from this rostrum.

What I can say here and now is that the President's letter does not give any grounds for amending the assessment of the international situation given in the report before the reply was received. It says that the elimination of nuclear arms is the goal all the nuclear powers should strive for. In his letter the President agrees in general with one or another Soviet proposal and intention as regards the issues of disarmament and security. In other words, the reply seems to contain some reassuring opinions and theses.

However, these positive pronouncements are swamped in various reservations, "linkages" and "conditions" which in fact block the solution of the key problems of disarmament. Reduction in the strategic nuclear arsenals is made conditional on our consent to the "star wars" programme and reductions—unilateral, by the way—in Soviet conventional arms. Linked to this are also problems of regional conflicts and bilateral relations. The elimination of nuclear arms in Europe is blocked by the references to the stand taken by Britain and France and the demand to weaken our defences in the eastern part of the country with the U.S. military forces remaining as they are. In justification of the refusal to stop nuclear tests it is argued that nuclear weapons supposedly serve as a factor of "containment". This directly contradicts the purpose reaffirmed in the letter—the need to destroy nuclear weapons. The reluctance of the U.S.A. and its ruling circles to embark on the path of nuclear disarmament is clearly manifest in their attitude to the termination of nuclear explosions which is the demand of the whole world.

To put it in a nutshell, it is hard to detect in the letter we have just received any serious readiness on the part of the U.S. Administration to get down to the business of solving the cardinal problems involved in eliminating the nuclear threat. It looks as if some people in Washington and elsewhere, for that matter, have grown accustomed to living with nuclear weapons, linking with them their plans in the international arena. However, whether they want it or not, the Western politicians will have to answer the question: are they prepared to part with nuclear weapons at all?

In accordance with an understanding reached in Geneva there will be another meeting with the U.S. President. We see its significance in its producing practical results in key areas of limiting and reducing armaments. There are at least two matters on which an understanding could be reached: the cessation of nuclear tests and the abolition of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in the European zone. And then, as a matter of fact, if there is readiness to seek agreement, the question of the time of the meeting would be resolved of itself: we will accept any suggestion on this score. But there is no sense in holding empty talks. We shall not remain indifferent if the Soviet-U.S. dialogue that has started and inspired some not unfounded hopes for changes for the better is used to continue the arms race and the material preparations for war. The Soviet Union is of a firm mind to justify the hopes of the peoples of our two countries and of the whole world who are expecting concrete steps, practical actions, and tangible agreements of the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on how to block the arms race. We are prepared for this.

Naturally, like any other country, we attach considerable importance to the security of our frontiers, on land and at sea. We have many neighbours, and they are different. We have no territorial claims on

any of them. We threaten none of them. But as experience has shown time and again, there are quite a few persons who, in disregard of the national interests of either our country or those of countries neighbouring upon us, are seeking to aggravate the situation on the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

For instance, counterrevolution and imperialism have turned Afghanistan into a bleeding wound. The U.S.S.R. supports that country's efforts to defend its sovereignty. We should like, in the nearest future, to withdraw the Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan at the request of its government. Moreover, we have agreed with the Afghan side on the schedule for their phased withdrawal as soon as a political settlement is reached that ensures an actual cessation and dependably guarantees the non-resumption of foreign armed interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It is in our vital, national interest that the U.S.S.R. should always have good and peaceful relations with all its neighbours. This is a vitally important objective of our foreign policy.

The CPSU regards **European** direction as one of the main areas of its international activity. Europe's historic opportunity and its future lie in peaceful cooperation among the nations of that continent. And it is important, while preserving what has already been achieved, to move further: from the initial to a more lasting phase of détente, to mature détente, and then to the building of dependable security on the basis of the Helsinki process, of a radical reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons.

The significance of the **Asian and Pacific direction** is growing. In that vast region there are many tangled knots of contradictions and, besides, the political situation in some places is unstable. Here it is necessary, without postponement, to find the relevant solutions and paths. Evidently, this has to begin with the coordination and then the pooling of efforts in the interests of a political settlement of painful problems so as, in parallel, on that basis to at least take the edge off the military confrontation in various parts of Asia and stabilize the situation there.

This is made all the more urgent by the fact that in Asia and other continents the **flashpoints of military danger** are not dying down. We are in favour of vitalizing collective quests for ways of defusing conflict situations in the Middle East, Central America, southern Africa, in all of the planet's turbulent points. This is imperatively demanded by the interests of general security.

Crises and conflicts are fertile soil also for international terrorism. Undeclared wars, the export of counterrevolution in all forms, political assassinations, the taking of hostages, the highjacking of aircraft, and bomb attacks in streets, airports, and railway stations—such is the hideous face of terrorism, which its instigators try to mask with various cynical inventions. The U.S.S.R. rejects terrorism in principle and is prepared to cooperate actively with other states in order to uproot it. The Soviet Union will resolutely safeguard its citizens against acts of violence and do everything to defend their lives, honour, and dignity.

Looking back over the past year one will see that, by all the evidence, the prerequisites for improving the international situation are beginning to form. But prerequisites for a turn are not the turn itself. The arms race continues and the threat of nuclear war remains. However, international reaction is by no means omnipotent. The development of the world revolutionary process and the growth of mass democratic and anti-war movements have significantly enlarged and strengthened the **huge potential of peace, reason, and good will.** This is a powerful counterbalance to imperialism's aggressive policy.

The destinies of peace and social progress are now linked more closely than ever before with the dynamic character of the **socialist world system's economic and political development.** The need for this dynamism is dictated by concern for the welfare of the peoples. But for the socialist world it is necessary also from the standpoint of counteraction to the military threat. Lastly, in this lies a demonstration of the potentialities of the socialist way of life. We are watched by both friends and foes. We are watched by the huge and heterogeneous world of developing nations. It is looking for its choice, for its road, and what this choice is will depend to a large extent on socialism's successes, on the credibility of its answers to the challenges of time.

We are convinced that socialism can resolve the most difficult problems confronting it. Of vital significance for this is the increasingly vigorous interaction whose effect is not merely the adding up but the multiplication of our potentials and which serves as a stimulus for common advancement. This is mirrored also in joint documents of countries of the socialist community.

Interaction between governing Communist parties remains the heart and soul of the **political cooperation** among these countries. During the past year there has practically been no fraternal countries with whose leaders we have not had meetings and substantive talks. The forms of such cooperation are themselves being updated. A new and perhaps key element, the multilateral working meetings of leaders of fraternal countries, is being institutionalized. These allow for prompt and friendly consultations on the entire spectrum of problems of socialist construction, on its internal and external aspects.

In the difficult international situation the prolongation of the **Warsaw Treaty** by a unanimous decision of its signatories was of great significance. This Treaty saw its second birth, so to speak, and today it is hard to picture world politics as a whole without it. Take the Sofia Conference of the Treaty's Political Consultative Committee. It was a kind of threshold of the Geneva dialogue.

In the **economic** sphere there now is the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress. Its import lies in the transition of the CMEA countries to a coordinated policy in science and technology. In our view, changes are also required in the work of the headquarters of socialist integration—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. But the main thing is that in carrying out this programme there is less armchair administration and fewer committees and commissions of all sorts, that more attention is given to economic levers, initiative, and socialist enterprise, and that work collectives are drawn into this process. This would indeed be a committed approach to such an extraordinary undertaking.

Vitality, efficiency, and initiative—all these qualities meet the imperatives of the times, and we shall strive to have them spread throughout the system of relations between fraternal parties. The CPSU attaches growing significance to live and broad communication between citizens of socialist countries, between people of different professions and different generations. This is a source of mutual intellectual enrichment, a channel for exchanges of views, ideas, and the **experience of socialist construction.** Today it is especially important to analyze the character of the socialist way of life and understand the processes of perfecting democracy, management methods and personnel policy on the basis of the development of several countries rather than of one country. A considerate and respectful attitude to each other's experience and the employment of this experience in practice are a huge potential of the socialist world.

Generally speaking, one of the advantages of socialism is its ability to learn: to learn to resolve the problems posed by life; to learn to forestall the crisis situations that our class adversary tries to create and utilize; to learn to counter the attempts to divide the socialist world and play off some countries against others; to learn to prevent collisions of the interests of different socialist countries, harmonize them by mutual effort, and find mutually acceptable solutions even to the most intricate problems.

It seems to us that it is worth taking a close look also at the relations in the socialist world as a whole. We do not see the community as being separated by some barrier from other socialist countries. The CPSU stands for honest, aboveboard relations with all communist parties and all countries of the socialist world system, for comradely exchanges of opinion between them. Above all, we endeavour to see what unites the socialist world. For that reason the Soviet Communists are gladdened by every step towards closer relations among all socialist states, by every positive advance in these relations.

One can say with gratification that there has been a measure of improvement of the Soviet Union's relations with its great neighbour—**socialist China.** The distinctions in attitudes, in particular, to a number of international problems remain. But we also note something else—that in many cases we can work jointly, cooperate on an equal and principled basis, without prejudice to third countries.

There is no need to explain the significance of this. The Chinese Communists called the victory of the U.S.S.R. and the forces of progress in the second world war a prologue to the triumph of the people's revolution in China. In turn, the formation of People's China helped to reinforce socialism's positions in the world and disrupt many of imperialism's designs and actions in the difficult postwar years. In thinking of the future, it may be said that the potentialities for cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and China are enormous. They are great because such cooperation is in line with the interests of both countries; because what is dearest to our peoples—socialism and peace—is indivisible.

The CPSU is an inalienable component of the international communist movement. We, the Soviet Communists, are well aware that every advance we make in building socialism is an advance of the entire movement. For that reason the CPSU sees its primary internationalist duty in ensuring our country's successful progress along the road opened and blazed by the October Revolution.

The communist movement in the non-socialist part of the world remains the principal target of political pressure and harassment by reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. All the fraternal parties are constantly under fire from anticommunist propaganda, which does not hold back from the most despicable means and methods. Many parties operate underground, in a situation of unmitigated persecution and repression. Every step the Communists take calls for struggle and personal courage. Permit me, comrades, on behalf of the 27th Congress, on behalf of the Soviet Communists to express sincere admiration for the dedicated struggle of our comrades, and profound fraternal solidarity with them.

In recent years the communist movement has come face to face with many new realities, tasks, and problems. All the indications are that it has entered upon a qualitatively new phase of development. The international conditions of the work of Communists are changing rapidly and profoundly. A substantial restructuring is taking place in the social pattern of bourgeois society, including the composition of the working class. The problems arising for our friends in the new independent states are not simple. The scientific and technological revolution is exercising a contradictory influence on the material condition and consciousness of working people in the non-socialist world. All this requires the ability to do a lot of rethinking and demands a bold and creative approach to the new realities on the basis of the immortal theory of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The CPSU knows this well from its own experience.

The communist movement's immense diversity and the tasks that it encounters are likewise a reality. In some cases this leads to disagreements and divergences. The CPSU is not dramatizing the fact that complete unanimity among communist parties exists not always and not in everything. Evidently, there generally cannot be an identity of views on all issues without exception. The communist movement came into being when the working class entered the international scene as an independent and powerful political force. The parties that comprise it have grown on national soil and pursue a common end objective—peace and socialism. Precisely this is the main, determining thing that unites them.

We do not see the diversity of our movement as a synonym for disunity, much as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, hierarchy, interference by some parties in the affairs of others, or the striving of any party to have a monopoly over what is right. The communist movement can and should be strong by virtue of its class solidarity, of equal cooperation among all the fraternal parties in the struggle for common aims. This is how the CPSU understands unity and intends to do everything to foster it.

The trend towards strengthening the potential of peace, reason, and good will is enduring and in principle irreversible. At the back of it is the aspiration of people, of all nations to live in concord and to cooperate. However, one should look at things realistically: the balance of strength in the struggle against war is shaping in the course of an acute and dynamic confrontation between progress and reaction. An immutable factor is the CPSU's solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social emancipation, and our course towards close interaction with socialist-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the non-aligned movement. The Soviet public is prepared to go on promoting links with non-communist movements and organizations, including religious organizations militating against war.

This is also the angle from which the CPSU regards its relations with the **social democratic** movement. It is a fact that the ideological differences between the Communists and the Social Democrats are deep, and that their achievements and experience are dissimilar and non-equivalent. However, an unbiassed look at the standpoints and views of each other is unquestionably useful to both the Communists and the Social Democrats, useful in the first place for furthering the struggle for peace and international security.

We are living in a world of realities and are building our international policy in keeping with the specific features of the present phase of international development. Our creative analysis of this phase and vision of prospects have led us to a conclusion that is highly significant. As never before it is now important to find ways for closer and more productive cooperation with governments, parties, and mass organizations and movements that are really preoccupied with the destinies of peace on Earth, with all peoples in order to **build an all-embracing system of international security.**

We see the **Fundamental Principles** of this system in the following:

1. **In the military sphere**

— renunciation by the nuclear powers of war—both nuclear and conventional—against each other or against third countries;

— prevention of an arms race in outer space, cessation of all nuclear weapons tests and the total destruction of such weapons, a ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons, and renunciation of the development of other means of mass annihilation;

— a strictly controlled lowering of the levels of military capabilities of countries to limits of reasonable adequacy;

— disbandment of military alliances, and as a stage towards this—renunciation of their enlargement and of the formation of new ones;

— balanced and commensurate reduction of military budgets.

2. **In the political sphere**

— unconditional respect in international practice for the right of each people to choose the ways and forms of its development independently;

— a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts;

— elaboration of a set of measures aimed at building confidence between states and the creation of effective guarantees against attack from without and of the inviolability of their frontiers;

— elaboration of effective methods of preventing international terrorism, including the safety of international land, air, and sea communications.

3. **In the economic sphere**

— exclusion of all forms of discrimination from international practice; renunciation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions if this is not directly envisaged in the recommendations of the world community;

— joint quest for ways for a just settlement of the problem of debts;

— establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing equal economic security to all countries;

— elaboration of principles for utilizing part of the funds released as a result of a reduction of military budgets for the good of the world community, of developing nations in the first place;

— the pooling of efforts in exploring and making peaceful use of outer space and in resolving global problems on which the destinies of civilization depend.

4. **In the humanitarian sphere**

— cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security; greater flow of general objective information and intercourse between peoples for the purpose of learning about one another; reinforcement of the spirit of mutual understanding and concord in the relations between them;

— extirpation of genocide, apartheid, advocacy of fascism and every other form of racial, national or religious exclusiveness, and also of discrimination against people on this basis;

—extension—while respecting the laws of each country—of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social, and personal rights of people;

— decision in a humane and positive spirit of questions related to the reuniting of families, marriage, and the promotion of contacts between people and between organizations;

— strengthening of and quests for new forms of cooperation in culture, art, science, education, and medicine.

These Principles stem logically from the provisions of the Programme of the CPSU. They are entirely in keeping with our concrete foreign policy initiatives. Guided by them it would be possible to make peaceful coexistence the highest principle of state-to-state relations. In our view, these Principles could become the point of departure and a sort of guideline for a direct and systematic dialogue between leaders of countries of the world community—both bilateral and multilateral.

And since this concerns the destinies of peace, such a dialogue is particularly important among the permanent members of the Security Council—the five nuclear powers. They bear the main burden of responsibility for the destinies of humankind. I emphasize—not a privilege, not a foundation for claims to "leadership" in world affairs, but responsibility, about which nobody has the right to forget. Why then should their leaders not gather at a **round table** and discuss what could and should be done to strengthen peace?

As we see it, the entire existing mechanism of arms limitation negotiations should also start to function at top productivity. Can one "grow accustomed" to the fact that for years these talks have been proceeding on a parallel course, so to speak, with a simultaneous buildup of armaments?

The U.S.S.R. is giving considerable attention to a joint examination of the world economy's problems and prospects, the interdependence between disarmament and development, and the expansion of trade and scientific and technological cooperation at international forums as well as within the framework of the Helsinki process. We feel that in the future it would be important to convene a **World Congress on Problems of Economic Security** at which it would be possible to discuss in a package everything that encumbers world economic relations.

We are prepared to consider seriously any other proposals aimed in the same direction.

Under all circumstances success must be achieved in the battle to prevent war. This would be an epoch-making victory of the whole of humanity, of every person on Earth. The CPSU sees active participation in this battle as the essence of its foreign policy strategy.

V.

THE PARTY

Comrades,

The magnitude and novelty of what we have to do make exceptionally high demands of the character of the political, ideological and organizational work conducted by the CPSU, which today has more than 19 million members welded together by unity of purpose, will and discipline.

The Party's strength is that it has a sense of the time, that it feels the pulse of life and always works among the people. Whenever the country faces new problems the Party finds ways of resolving them, restructures and modifies leadership methods, demonstrating its ability to measure up to its historic responsibility for the country's destiny, for the cause of socialism and communism.

Life constantly verifies our potentialities. Last year was special in this respect. As never before there was a need for unity in the Party ranks and unity in the Central Committee. We saw clearly that it was no longer possible to evade pressing issues of society's development, to remain reconciled to irresponsibility, laxity and inertness. Under these conditions the Political Bureau, the Central Committee Secretariat and the Central Committee decided that the cardinal issues

dictated by the times had to be resolved. An important landmark on this road was the April plenary meeting of the Central Committee. We told the people frankly about the difficulties and omissions in our work and about the plans for the immediate future and the long term. Today, at this congress, we can state with confidence that the course set by the April plenary meeting received the active support of the Communists, of millions of working people.

The present stage, which is one of society's qualitative transformation, requires the Party and each of its organizations to make new efforts, to be principled in assessing their own work, and show efficiency and dedication. The draft new text of the Party Programme and the draft amendments in the Rules of the CPSU presented to the congress proceed from the premise that the task of mobilizing all the factors of acceleration can only be carried out by a party that has the interests of the people at heart, a party having a scientifically substantiated perspective, asserting by its labour the confidence that the set targets would be attained.

The Party can resolve new problems successfully if it is itself in uninterrupted development, free of the "infallibility" complex, critically assesses the results that have been attained, and clearly sees what has to be done. The new requirements being made of cadres, of the entire style, methods and character of work are dictated by the magnitude and complexity of the problems and the need to draw lessons from the past without compromise or reservations.

At present, comrades, we have to focus on the practical organization of our work and the placing and upbringing of cadres, of the body of Party activists, and reconsider our entire work with a fresh Party view—at every level, in every echelon. In this context I should like to remind you of Lenin's words: "When the situation has changed and different problems have to be solved, we cannot look back and attempt to solve them by yesterday's methods. Don't try—you won't succeed!"

1. Work in a New Way, Enhance the Role and Responsibility of Party Organizations

The purpose of restructuring Party work is that each Party organization—from republican to primary—should vigorously implement the course set by the April plenary meeting and live in an atmosphere of quest, of renewal of the forms and methods of its activity. This can only be done through the efforts of all the Communists, the utmost promotion of democracy within the Party itself, the application of the principle of collective leadership at all levels, the promotion of criticism and self-criticism, control, and a responsible attitude to the work at hand. It is only then that the spirit of novelty is generated, that inertness and stagnation become intolerable.

We are justifiably exasperated by all sorts of shortcomings and by those responsible for them—people who neglect their duties and are indifferent to society's interests: hackworker and idler, grabber and writer of anonymous letters, petty bureaucrat and bribetaker. But they live and work in a concrete collective, town or village, in a given organization rather than some place away from us. Then who save the collective and the Communists should candidly declare that in our working community each person has to work conscientiously and abide strictly by the norms of socialist society, which are the same for everybody. What and who prevents this?

This is where the task of enhancing the role of the Party organization rises to its full stature. It does not become us, the Communists, to put the blame on anybody. If a Party organization lives a full-blooded life founded on relations of principle, if Communists are engaged in concrete matters and not in a talking-shop on general subjects, success is assured. It is not enough to see shortcomings and defects, to stigmatize them. It is necessary to do everything so that they should not exist. **There is no vanguard role of the Communists generally; it is expressed in practical deeds.**

Party life that is healthy, businesslike, multiform in its concrete manifestations and concerns, characterized by openness and publicity of plans and decisions, by the humaneness and modesty of Communists—that is what we need today. We, the Communists, are looked upon as an example in everything—in work and behaviour. We have to live and work in such a way that the working person could say: "Yes, this is a real Communist." And the more radiant and cleaner life will be in the Party house, the sooner will we cope with problems which are not simple and are typical of the present time of change.

Guided by the decisions of the April and subsequent Central Committee meetings and working boldly and perseveringly, many Party organizations have achieved good results. In defining the ways for advancement, the CPSU Central Committee relies chiefly on that experience, striving to make it common property. For example, the decisions on accelerating scientific and technological progress are based to a large extent on the innovatory approach to these matters in the Leningrad Party organization, and its experience underlies the drafting of the programmes for the intensification and integration of science and production, and socio-economic planning. Party organizations in the Ukraine should be commended for creating scientific and technological complexes and engineering centres and for their productive work in effectively utilizing recycled resources. The measures to form a unified agro-industrial complex in the country underwent a preliminary trial in Georgia and Estonia.

Many examples could be given of a modern approach to work. A sense of the new and active restructuring in accordance with the changing conditions are characteristic of the Byelorussian, Latvian, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Krasnodar, Omsk, Ulyanovsk and other organizations. Evidence of this is also provided by many election meetings, conferences, and republican congresses. They were notable for their businesslike raising of issues, the commitment of Communists to seeking untapped resources and ways of speeding up our progress, and exactingness in assessing the work of elective bodies.

But the need for restructuring is seen by far from everybody and far from everywhere. There still are many organizations, as is likewise confirmed by the election campaign, in which one does not feel the proper frame of mind for a serious, self-critical analysis, for drawing practical conclusions. This is the effect of adherence to the old, the absence of a sense of the time, a propensity for excessive organization, the habit of speaking vaguely, and the fear of revealing the real state of affairs.

We will not move forward a single step if we do not learn to work in a new way, do not put an end to inertness and conservatism in any of their forms, if we lose the courage to assess the situation realistically and see it as it actually is. To make irresponsibility recede into the past, we have to make a rule of calling a spade a spade, of judging everything openly. It is about time to stop exercises in misplaced tact where there should be exactingness and honesty, a Party conscience. Nobody has the right to forget Lenin's stern warning: "False rhetoric and false boastfulness spell moral ruin and lead unfailingly to political extinction."

The consistent implementation of the **principle of collectivity** is a key condition for a healthy life in every Party organization. But in some organizations the role of plenary meetings and of the bureaus as collegiate bodies was downgraded, and the joint drafting of decisions was replaced by instructions issued by one individual, and this often led to gross errors. Such sidetracking of the norms of Party life was tolerated in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

Kirghizia. A principled assessment was given at the congress of the republic's Communist Party of the activities not only of the former first secretary but also of those who connived at unscrupulousness and servility.

It is only strict compliance with and the utmost strengthening of the principle of collective leadership that can be a barrier to subjectivist kinks and create the conditions for the adoption of considered and substantiated decisions. A leader who understands this clearly has the right to count on long and productive work.

More urgently than before there is now the **need to promote criticism and self-criticism and step up the efforts to remove window-dressing.** From the recent past we know that where criticism and self-criticism chokes, where talk about successes is substituted for a Party analysis of the actual situation, all Party activity is deformed and a situation of complacency, permissiveness and impunity arises that leads to the most serious consequences. In the provinces and even in the centre there appeared quite a few officials who reacted painfully to critical remarks levelled at them and went so far as to harass people who came up with criticism.

The labour achievements of the people of Moscow are widely known. But one can say confidently that these accomplishments would have been much greater had the city Party organization not lost since some time ago the spirit of self-criticism and a healthy dissatisfaction with what had been achieved, had complacency not surfaced. As was noted at a city Party conference, the leadership of the City Committee had evaded decisions on complex problems while parading its successes. This is what generated complacency and was an impediment to making a principled evaluation of serious shortcomings.

Perhaps in their most glaring form negative processes stemming from an absence of criticism and self-criticism manifested themselves in Uzbekistan. Having lost touch with life, the republic's former top leadership made it a rule to speak only of successes, paper over shortcomings, and respond irritably to any critical judgements. In the republican Party organization discipline slackened, and persons for whom the sole principle was lack of principles, their own well-being and careerist considerations were in favour. Toadyism and unbridled laudation of those "senior in rank" became widespread. All this could not but affect the state of affairs. The situation in the economy and in the social sphere deteriorated markedly, machinations, embezzlement and bribery thrived, and socialist legality was grossly transgressed.

It required intervention by the CPSU Central Committee to normalize the situation. The republic was given all-sided assistance. Many sectors of Party, governmental and economic work were reinforced with cadres. These measures won the approval and active support of the Communists and the working people of Uzbekistan.

There is something else that causes concern. The shortcomings in the republic did not appear overnight, they piled up over the years, growing from small to big. Officials from all-Union bodies, including the Central Committee, went to Uzbekistan on many occasions and they must have noticed what was happening. Working people of the republic wrote indignant letters to the central bodies about the malignant practices. But these signals were not duly investigated.

The reason for this is that at some stage individual republics, territories, regions and cities were placed out of bounds to criticism. As a result, there began to appear districts, collective farms, state farms, industrial enterprises, and so on that enjoyed a kind of immunity. From all this we have to draw the firm conclusion that **in the Party there neither are nor should be organizations outside the pale of control and closed to criticism, there neither are nor should be leaders fenced off from Party responsibility.**

This applies equally to ministries, departments and any enterprises and organizations. The CPSU Central Committee considers that the role of Party committees of ministries and departments must be enhanced significantly, that the level of their activity in restructuring the work of the management apparatus and of industries as a whole must be raised. An examination of the reports of the Party committees of some ministries in the Central Committee shows that they are still using their right of control very timidly and warily, that they are not catalysts of the new, of the struggle against departmentalism, paper-work and red tape.

The Party provides political leadership and defines the general prospect for development. It formulates the main tasks in socio-economic and intellectual life, selects and places cadres, and exercises general control. As regards the ways and means of resolving specific economic and socio-cultural problems, wide freedom of choice is given to each management body, work collective, and economic cadres.

In improving the forms and methods of leadership, the Party is emphatically against confusing the functions of Party committees with those of governmental and public bodies. This is not a simple question. It is sometimes hard to see the boundary beyond which Party control and the organization of the fulfilment of practical tasks spills over into petty tutelage or even substitution for governmental and economic bodies. Needless to say, each situation requires a specific approach, and here much is determined by the political culture and maturity of leaders. The Party will endeavour to organize work in such a way that in the sector entrusted to him each person acts professionally and energetically, without fearing to shoulder responsibility. Such is the principled Leninist decision of this question and we should abide strictly by it at all levels of Party activity.

2. For Probity and Integrity of the Party Member, for a Principled Personnel Policy

Comrades,

The more consistently we draw the Party's huge creative potential into the efforts to accelerate the development of Soviet society, the more tangible becomes the profound substantiation of the conclusion drawn by the April plenary meeting about the **necessity of enhancing the initiatives and responsibilities of cadres and about the importance of an untiring struggle for the probity and integrity of the Party member.**

The Communist Party is the political and moral vanguard. During the past five years it has admitted nearly 1,600,000 new members. Its roots in the working class, in all strata of society are growing increasingly stronger. In terms of per hundred new members there are 59 workers and 26 trained specialists working in various branches of the economy, while of all those admitted four fifths are young people.

By and large, the Party's composition is formed and its ranks grow in accordance with the Rules, but as in any matter the process of admittance to the Party requires further improvement. Some organizations hasten the growth of the Party ranks to the detriment of their quality, and do not set high standards for new members. Our task is to show tireless concern for the purity of the Party ranks and dependably close the Party to uncommitted people, to those who join it out of careerist or other mercenary considerations.

We have to go on improving the ideological education of Communists and insist upon stricter compliance with Party discipline and unqualified fulfilment of the requirements set by the Rules. In each Party organization the Communists should themselves create an atmosphere of mutual exactingness that would rule out any possibility of anybody disregarding Party norms. In this context, we should support and disseminate the experience of many Party organizations in which

Communists report regularly to their comrades, and the character references given by the Party are discussed and endorsed at Party meetings. This helps to give all Party members without exception a higher sense of responsibility to their organization.

We bear quite a lot of damage because some Communists behave unworthily or perpetrate discrediting acts. Of late a number of senior officials have been discharged from their posts and expelled from the Party for various abuses. Some of them have been indicted. There have been such cases, for example, in the Alma-Ata, Chimkent and some other regions as well as in some republics, and also in ministries and departments. Phenomena of this kind are, as a rule, generated by violations of Party principles in selecting and educating cadres, and in controlling their work. The Party will resolutely go on getting rid of all who discredit the name of Communist.

At our congress I should like to say a few more words about **efficiency**. This is a question of principle. Any disparity between what is said and done hurts the main thing—the prestige of Party policy—and cannot be tolerated in any form. The Communist Party is a party of unity between words and actions. This should be remembered by every leader, by every Communist. It is by the unity between words and deeds that the Soviet people will judge our work.

Important resolutions have been adopted and interesting ideas and recommendations have been put forward both in the centre and in the provinces since the April plenary meeting. But if we were to analyze what of this has been translated into life and been mirrored in work, it will be found that alongside unquestionable changes much has still got stuck on the way to practical utilization. No restructuring, no change can take place unless every Communist, especially a leader, appreciates the immense significance of practical actions, which are the only vehicles that can move life forward and make labour more productive. Organizational work cannot be squandered on bombast and empty rhetoric at countless meetings and conferences.

And another thing. The Party has to declare a determined and relentless war on bureaucratic practices. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin held that it was especially important to fight them at moments of change, during a transition from one system of management to another, where there is a need for maximum efficiency, speed and energy. Today bureaucracy is a serious obstacle to the solution of our principal problem—the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development and the fundamental restructuring of the mechanism of economic management linked to that development. This matter cannot but cause concern, and calls for conclusions. Here it is important to bear in mind that bureaucratic distortions manifest themselves all the stronger where there is no efficiency, publicity and control from below, where people are held less accountable for what they do.

Comrades, of late many new, energetic people who think in modern terms have been appointed to high positions. The Party will continue pursuing the line of combining experienced and young cadres in the leadership. More women are being promoted to leadership positions. There are now more of them in Party and local government bodies. The criterion for all promotions and changes boils down to one thing: political qualities, efficiency, ability, and actual achievements of the person concerned, and the attitude to people. I feel it is necessary to emphasize this also because some people have dropped the Party tradition of maintaining constant contact with rank-and-file Communists, with working people. This is what undermines the very essence of Party work.

The person needed today to head each Party organization is one who has close ties with the masses and is ideologically committed, thinks in an innovative way, and is energetic. It is hardly necessary to remind you that with the personality of a leader, of a Party leader in the first place, people link all the pros and cons of the concrete, actual life they live. The secretary of a district committee, a city committee or a regional committee of the Party is the criterion by which the rank-and-file worker forms an opinion of the Party committee and of the Party as a whole.

Cadres devoted to the Party cause and heading the efforts to implement its political line are our main and most precious asset. Party activists, all Communists should master the great traditions of Bolshevism and be brought up in the spirit of these traditions. In the Party, at each level, a principled stand and Party comradeship should become immutable norms. This is the only attitude that can ensure the Party's moral health, which is the earnest of society's health.

3. Reinforce Ideology's Link to Life and Enrich People's Intellectual World

Comrades,

"You cannot be an ideological leader without ... theoretical work, just as you cannot be one without directing this work to meet the needs of the cause, and without spreading the results of this theory." That is what Lenin taught us.

Marxism-Leninism is the greatest revolutionary world view. It substantiated the most humane objective that humankind has ever set itself—the creation of a just social system on earth. It indicates the way to a scientific study of society's development as an integral process that is law-governed in all its huge diversity and contradictoriness, teaches us to see the character and interaction of economic and political forces, to select correct orientations, forms and methods of struggle, and to feel confident at all steep turns in history.

In all its work the CPSU proceeds from the premise that fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine lies in creatively developing it on the basis of the experience that has been accumulated. The intricate range of problems stemming from the present landmark character of the development of our society and of the world as a whole is today in the focus of the Party's theoretical thinking. The many-sided tasks of acceleration and its interrelated aspects—political, economic, scientific, technological, social, cultural-intellectual and psychological—require further in-depth and comprehensive analysis. We feel a pressing need for serious philosophical generalizations founded on economic and social forecasts, on profound historical studies.

We cannot escape the fact that our philosophy and economics, as indeed our social sciences as a whole, are, I would say, in a state that is some distance away from the imperatives of life. Besides, our economic planning bodies and other departments do not display the proper interest in carrying rational recommendations of social scientists into practice.

Time sets the question of the social sciences broadly tackling the concrete requirements of practice and demands that social scientists should be sensitive to the ongoing changes in life, keep new phenomena in sight, and draw conclusions that would correctly orient practice. Viability can only be claimed by those scientific schools that come from practice and return to it enriched with meaningful generalizations and constructive recommendations. Scholasticism, doctrinairism and dogmatism have always been shackles for a genuine addition to knowledge. They lead to stagnation of thought, fence science in, cut it off from life and inhibit its development. Truth is acquired not by declarations and instructions, it is born in scientific discussion and debate and verified in action. The Central Committee favours this way of developing our social sciences, a way that allows reaching significant results in theory and practice.

The atmosphere of creativity, which the Party is asserting in all areas of life, is particularly productive

for the social sciences. We hope that it will be used actively by our economists and philosophers, lawyers and sociologists, historians and literary critics for a bold and innovative formulation of new problems and for their creative theoretical elaboration.

However attractive ideas in themselves, they do not give shape automatically to a coherent and active world view if they are not coupled to the socio-political experience of the masses. **Socialist ideology draws its energy and effectiveness from the interaction of advanced ideas with the practice of building the new society.**

The Party defines the basic directions of ideological work in the new text of the CPSU Programme. They have been discussed at plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and at the U.S.S.R. practical-scientific conference held in December 1984. I shall mention only a few of them.

The most essential thing on which the entire weight of Party influence must be focussed now is that every person should understand the urgency and landmark character of the moment we are living in. Any of our plans would hang in the air if people are left indifferent, if we fail to awaken the labour and social activity of the masses, their energy and initiative. **The prime condition for accelerating the country's socio-economic development is to turn society towards new tasks and draw upon the creative potential of the people, of every work collective for carrying them out.**

It is an indisputable fact that intelligent and truthful words exercise a tremendous influence. But their significance is multiplied a hundred-fold if they are coupled to political, economic and social steps. This is the only way to get rid of tiresome edification and to fill calls and slogans with the breath of real life.

Isolation of words from reality dramatically devalues ideological efforts. However many lectures we deliver on tact and however much we censure callousness and bureaucracy, this evaporates if a person encounters coarseness in offices, in the street, in a shop. However many talks we may have on the culture of behaviour, they will be useless if they are not reinforced by efforts to achieve a high level of production efficiency and human relations. However many articles we may write about social justice, order and discipline, they will remain unproductive if they are not accompanied by vigorous actions on the part of the work collective and by consistent enforcement of the law.

People should constantly see and feel the great truth of our ideology and the principled character of our policy. Work and the distribution of good things of life should be so organized and the laws and principles of socialist society so scrupulously observed that every Soviet citizen should have firm faith in our ideals and values. Dwellings, food supplies, the quality of consumer goods, and the level of health care are what most directly affect the consciousness and sentiment of people. It is exactly from these positions that we should approach the entire spectrum of problems linked to the educational work of Party and government bodies, and public organizations.

Exceedingly favourable social conditions are created for boosting the effectiveness of ideological work in the drive to speed up socio-economic development. But nobody should count on ideological, political, labour and moral upbringing being thereby simplified. It must always be borne in mind that however conducive it may be the present situation has its own contradictions and difficulties. No concession should be allowed in assessments.

It is always a complex process to develop the social consciousness, but the distinctive character of the present stage has made many pressing problems particularly sharp. First, the very magnitude of the task of acceleration defines the social atmosphere, its character and specific features. As yet not everybody has proved to be prepared to understand and accept what is taking place. Second, and this must be emphasized, the slackening of socio-economic development was the outcome of serious blunders not only in economic management but also in ideological work.

It cannot be said that there were few words on this matter or that they were wrong. But in practice purposeful educational work was often replaced by artificial campaigns leading propaganda away from life with an adverse effect on the social climate. The sharpness of the contradictions in life was often ignored and there was no realism in assessing the actual state of affairs in the economy, as well as in the social and other spheres. Debris of the past invariably leave an imprint. They make themselves felt, manifesting themselves in people's consciousness, actions and behaviour. The lifestyle cannot be changed in the twinkling of an eye, and it is still harder to put an end to inertia in thinking. Energetic efforts must be made here.

Policy yields the needed results when it is founded on an accurate account of the interests of classes, social groups, and individuals. While this is true from the standpoint of administering society, it is even truer where ideology and education are concerned. Society consists of concrete people, who have concrete interests, their joys and sorrows, their notions about life, about its actual and sham values.

In this context I should like to say a few words about **work with individuals as a major sphere of education.** It cannot be said that it receives no attention, but in the ideological sphere the customary "gross" approach is a serious hindrance. The relevant statistics are indeed impressive. Tens and hundreds of thousands of propagandists, agitators, and lecturers on politics, the study circles and seminars, the newspapers and journals with circulations running into millions, and the audiences of millions at lectures. All this is commendable. But does not the living person disappear in this playing around with figures and this "coverage"? Do not ideological statistics blind us, on the one hand, to selfless working people meriting high recognition by society and, on the other, to exponents of anti-socialist morality? That is why maximum concreteness in education is so important.

An essential feature of ideological work is also that it is conducted in a situation marked by a sharp confrontation between socialist and capitalist ideology. Capitalist ideology is an ideology serving capital and the profits of monopolies, adventurism and social revenge, an ideology of a society that has no future. Its guidelines are obvious: to use any device to embellish capitalism, camouflage its intrinsic anti-humaneness and injustice, to impose its standards of life and culture; by every means to throw mud at socialism and misrepresent the sense of values such as democracy, freedom, equality, and social progress.

The psychological warfare unleashed by imperialism cannot be qualified otherwise than as a special form of aggression, of information imperialism impinging on the sovereignty, history and culture of peoples. Moreover, it spells out direct political and psychological preparations for war, having, of course, nothing in common with a real comparison of views or with freedom of exchanges of ideas, about which they speak hypocritically in the West. There is no other way for evaluating actions, when people are taught to look upon any society uncongenial to imperialism through a gun-sight.

Naturally, there are no grounds for overestimating the influence of capitalist propaganda. Soviet people are well aware of the real value of the various prophets and forecasts, they clearly see the actual aims of the subversive activities of the ruling monopoly forces. But we have no right to forget that psychological warfare is a struggle for people's minds, their understanding of the world, their vital, social and intellectual bearings. We are contending with a skilful class adversary, whose political experience is diverse and centuries-old in terms of time. He has built up a mammoth mass propaganda machine equipped with

sophisticated technical means and having a huge apparatus of schooled haters of socialism.

The insidiousness and unscrupulousness of capitalist propagandists must be countered with a high standard of professionalism on the part of our ideological workers, by the morality and culture of socialist society, by the openness of information, and by the incisive and creative character of our propaganda. We must be on the offensive in exposing ideological subversion and in bringing home truthful information about the actual achievements of socialism, about the socialist way of life.

We have built a world free of oppression and exploitation and a society of social unity and confidence. We, patriots of our homeland, will go on safeguarding it with all our strength, increasing its wealth, and fortifying its economic and moral might. The inner sources of Soviet patriotism are in the social system, in our humanistic ideology. True patriotism lies in an active civic stand. Socialism is a society with a high level of morality. One cannot be ideologically committed without being honest, a person with a clear conscience, decent, and self-critical. Our education will be all the more productive, the more vigorously the ideals, principles and values of the new society are asserted. The drive for higher moral standards is the most effective way of promoting the effectiveness and social yield of ideological education and creating guarantees against the emergence of unhealthy phenomena.

To put it in a nutshell, comrades, whatever area of ideological work we take, life must be the starting point in everything. Stagnation is simply intolerable in a live, dynamic and many-sided matter such as information, propaganda, artistic creativity and amateur art activity, the work of clubs, theatres, libraries and museums—in the entire sphere of ideological, political, labour, moral and atheistic upbringing.

In our day, which is replete with dynamism and changes, the **role of the mass media** is growing significantly. The time that has passed since the April plenary meeting of the CC has been a rigorous test for the whole of the Party's work in journalism. Editorial staffs have indomitably tackled complex problems that are new in many respects. Newspapers, journals and television programmes have vividly reflected life with its achievements and contradictions, and there is a more analytical approach, civic motivation, and sharpness in bringing problems to light and in concrete criticism of shortcomings and omissions. Many constructive recommendations have been offered on pressing economic, social and ideological issues.

Even more significance is now being acquired by the effectiveness of the mass media. The Central Committee sees them as an instrument of creation and an exponent of the Party's general viewpoint, which is incompatible with departmentalism and parochialism. Everything dictated by principled considerations, by the interests of improving our work will continue to be supported by the Party. The work of the mass media becomes all the more productive, the more thoughtfulness and timeliness and the less pursuit after the casual and the sensational there are in it.

Our television and radio networks are developing rapidly, acquiring an up-to-date technical level. They have entered life solidly as all-embracing media carrying information and propagating and asserting our moral values and culture. Changes for the better have clearly appeared here: television and radio programmes have become more diversified and interesting, and there is a visible aspiration to surmount established stereotypes, to take the diversity of the interests of audiences into account more fully.

But can it be said that our mass media and propaganda are using all their potentials? For the time being, no. There still is much dullness, inertia has not been overcome, and deafness to the new has not been healed. People are dissatisfied with the inadequate promptness in the reporting of news, with the superficial coverage of the drive for the advanced innovations being introduced into practice. Justified censure is evoked by the low standard of some literary works, television programmes and films that suffer from a lack not only of ideological and aesthetic clarity but also of elementary taste. There has to be a radical improvement of film distribution and of book and journal publishing. The leadership of the Ministry of Culture, the State Committee for Television and Radio, the State Committee for Cinematography, the State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade, and the news agencies have to draw effective conclusions from the innumerable critical remarks from the public. The shortcomings are common, but the responsibility is specific, and this must be constantly in the minds of ideological cadres.

The Party sees the main objective of its **policy in culture** in giving the widest scope for identifying people's abilities and making their lives culturally rich and many-sided. In working for radical changes for the better in this area as well, it is important to build up cultural-educational work in such a way as to fully satisfy people's cultural requirements and interests.

Society's moral health and the intellectual climate in which people live are in no small measure determined by the state of **literature and art.** While reflecting the birth of the new world, our literature has been active in helping to build it, moulding the citizen of that world—the patriot of the motherland and the internationalist in the true meaning of the word. It thereby correctly chose its place, its role in the efforts of the entire people. But this is also a criterion which the people and the Party use to assess the work of the writer and the artist, and which literature and Soviet art themselves use to approach their own tasks.

When the social need arises to comprehend the time, especially a time of change, it always brings forward people for whom this becomes an inner necessity. We are living in such a time today. Neither the Party nor the people stand in need of showy verbosity on paper, petty dirty-linen washing, time-serving and unprincipled utilitarianism. What society expects from the writer is artistic innovation and the truth of life, which has always been the essence of real art.

But truth is not an abstract concept. It is concrete. It lies in the achievements of the people and in the contradictions of society's development, in heroism and the succession of day-to-day work, in triumphs and failures, in other words, in life itself, in all its versatility, dramatism and grandeur. Only a literature that is ideologically motivated, artistic and committed to the people educates people to be honest, strong in spirit, and capable of shouldering the burden of their time.

Criticism and self-criticism are a natural principle of our society's life. Without them there can be no progress. It is time for literary and art criticism to shake off complacency and servility to rank, which erodes healthy morals, remembering that criticism is a social matter and not a sphere serving an author's vanity and ambitions.

Our unions of creative workers are rich in tradition, and they play a considerable role in promoting progress of art and society as a whole. The main result of their work is measured not by resolutions and meetings, but by talented and imaginative books, films, plays, paintings and music needed by society and which can enrich the people's intellectual life. In this context, serious consideration is merited by the suggestion from the public that **the standard for judging works nominated for distinguished prizes should be raised.**

Leadership of intellectual, cultural life is not a simple matter. It requires tact, an understanding of creative work, and most certainly a love of literature and art, and respect for talent. Here much depends upon the ability to propagate the Party's policy in culture, to implement it in life, on fairness in evalua-

tions, and a well-wishing attitude to the creative work and quests of the writer, the composer, and the artist.

Ideological work is creative. It has no universal means for all occasions, requires constant quest, and the ability to keep abreast of life. Today it is particularly important to acquire a profound understanding of the character of present-day problems, a solid scientific world view, a principled stand, high efficiency, and a sense of responsibility for work in any sector. **To promote society's level of maturity and build communism means steadfastly to enhance the maturity of the individual's consciousness and enrich his intellectual world.**

The Party thinks highly of the knowledge, experience and dedication of its ideological activists. Here, at our congress, a word of the highest regard must be said to the millions of Party members who have fulfilled and continue to fulfil honourably an extremely important Party assignment in one of the main fields of its work. We must continue to assign to ideological work comrades who by personal example have proved their commitment, are able to think analytically, and know how to hear out and talk with people, in short, highly trained in political and professional terms, and capable of successfully carrying out the new tasks of our time.

VI.

RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE NEW TEXT OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME AND OF THE AMENDMENTS TO THE PARTY RULES

Comrades, the political report of the CPSU Central Committee examines the Party's programme goals, its present-day economic and political strategies, the problems of improving inner-Party life, and the style and methods of work, that is, all that constitutes the core of the drafts of the new text of the Programme and of the amendments to the CPSU Rules. Therefore, there is no need to set them forth here in detail. Let me only dwell on some of the points of principle, taking into account the results of the Party-wide and nationwide discussion of the drafts of these documents.

What are these results? First of all, the conclusions and provisions of the CPSU Programme and Rules have met with widespread approval. The Communists and Soviet people support the Party's policy of accelerating the country's socio-economic development and its Programme's clear orientation towards the communist perspective and the strengthening of world peace. They point out that the new historical tasks are based on in-depth analysis of the urgent problems of the development of society.

The new text of the Programme has also evoked a wide response abroad. Progressives take note of its profoundly humane nature, its addressing itself to man, its passionate call for mutual understanding among nations and for ensuring a peaceful future to mankind. Our friends abroad are inspired by the Soviet Union's unshakeable striving for lasting comradely relations and all-round cooperation with all the countries of the socialist world system and its firm support of the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle for peace, democracy, social progress, and the consolidation of independence. Many of the sober-minded public figures in bourgeois countries take note of the peaceful orientation of our Programme, of the CPSU line for disarmament and for normal, sound relations with all the countries.

The preparation and discussion of the pre-congress documents have invigorated the Party's ideological and political work and furthered the social activity of millions of working people.

The drafts of the new text of the Programme and of the Rules have been thoroughly discussed at meetings of primary Party organizations, at district, city, area, regional and territorial election conferences, and at congresses of the Communist parties of Union Republics. Since the beginning of the discussion, over six million responses were received to the draft Programme alone. They came from workers, collective farmers, scientists, teachers, engineers, doctors, Army and Navy servicemen, Communists and non-Party people, veterans and young people. Assessing the new text of the Programme as a document that meets the vital interests of the Soviet people, they made numerous proposals, and suggested additions and more precise wordings. I believe it would be useful to dwell on some of them.

Stressing the novelty of the draft under discussion, the authors of some of the letters suggest adopting it at the congress as the fourth Party Programme. It will be recalled that the adoption of new Party programmes, initially the second and then the third, was necessitated by the fact that the goals set in the preceding Programme had been reached. In our case, the situation is different.

The Party's basic tasks of developing and consolidating socialism, of its plan-governed and all-round improvement, and Soviet society's further advance to communism, remain in force. The document submitted for your consideration reiterates the theoretical and political guidelines which have stood the test of time.

At the same time much has changed in our life in the quarter of a century since the adoption of the third Party Programme. New historical experience has been accumulated. Not all of the estimates and conclusions turned out to be right. Translating the tasks of the full-scale building of communism into direct practical action has proved to be premature. Certain miscalculations were made, too, in fixing deadlines for the solution of a number of concrete problems. New problems related to improving socialism and accelerating its development, as well as certain questions of international politics, have come to the fore and become acute. All this has to be reflected in the Party's programme document.

Thus, the assessment of the submitted document as a new text of the third Party Programme is justified in reality and is of fundamental importance. It reasserts the main goals of the CPSU, the basic laws governing communist construction, and at the same time shows that the accumulated historical experience has been interpreted in a creative manner, and that the strategy and tactics have been elaborated to suit the specifics of the present turning point.

The public has paid great attention to those provisions of the Programme which describe the stage of social development reached by the country and the goals yet to be attained through its implementation. Various opinions were expressed on this score. While some suggest that references to developed socialism should be completely removed from the Programme, others, on the contrary, believe that this should be dealt with at greater length.

The draft sets forth a well-balanced and realistic position on this issue. The main conclusions about modern socialist society confirm that our country has entered the stage of developed socialism. We also show understanding for the task of building developed socialism set down in the programme documents of fraternal parties in the socialist countries.

At the same time it is proper to recall that the thesis on developed socialism has gained currency in our country as a reaction to the simplistic ideas about the ways and terms of carrying out the tasks of communist construction. Subsequently, however, the accents in the interpretation of developed socialism were

gradually shifted. Things were not infrequently reduced to just registering successes, while many of the urgent problems related to the intensification of the economy, to raising labour productivity, improving supplies to the population, and overcoming negative things were not given due attention. Willy-nilly, this was a peculiar vindication of sluggishness in solving outstanding problems. Today, when the Party has proclaimed and is pursuing the policy of accelerating socio-economic development, this approach has become unacceptable.

The prevailing conditions compel us to focus theoretical and political thought not on recording what has been achieved, but on substantiating the ways and methods of accelerating socio-economic progress, on which depend qualitative changes in various spheres of life. An incalculably deeper approach is wanted in solving the cardinal issues of social progress. The sense of the strategy of the CPSU set out in the new text of the Programme is centred on the need for change, for stepping up the dynamism of society's development. It is through socio-economic acceleration that our society is to attain new frontiers, whereupon the advantages of the socialist system will assert themselves to the fullest extent and the problems that we have inherited from the preceding stages will be resolved.

Divergent opinions have been expressed, too, concerning details of the Programme provisions. Some people hold that the Programme should be a still more concise document, a kind of brief declaration of the Party's intentions. Others favour a more detailed description of the parameters of economic and social development. Some letters contain proposals for a more precise chronology of the periods that Soviet society will pass through in its advance to communism.

According to Lenin's principles of structuring programme documents and the ensuing traditions, the Programme should present a full-scale picture of the modern world, the main tendencies and laws governing its development, and a clear, well-argumented account of the aims which the Party is setting itself and which it is summoning the masses to achieve. At the same time, however, Lenin stressed that the Programme must be strictly scientific, based on absolutely established facts, and that it should be economically precise and should not promise more than can be attained. He called for a maximum of realism in characterizing the future society and the defined objectives. "We should be as cautious and accurate as possible," Lenin wrote. "...But if we advance the slightest claim to something that we cannot give, the power of our Programme will be weakened. It will be suspected that our Programme is only a fantasy."

It seems to me that the submitted text of the Programme is meeting these demands. As for the chronological limits in which the Programme targets are to be attained, they do not seem to be needed. The faults of the past are a lesson for us. The only thing we can say definitely today is that the fulfilment of the present Programme goes beyond the end of the present century.

The tasks that we are to carry out in the next 15 years can be defined more specifically, and have been set out in the new text of the Programme, and in greater detail in the Guidelines for the economic and social development of the U.S.S.R. till the year 2000. And, of course, the 12th five-year plan, a big step in the economy's conversion to intensive development through the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, will occupy an important place in the fulfilment of our programme goals.

Many of the responses and letters received by the CC CPSU Commission which drew up the new text of the CPSU Programme are devoted to social policy. Soviet people approve and support measures aimed at enhancing the people's well-being, asserting social justice everywhere, and clearing our life of everything that is contrary to the principles of socialism. They make proposals that are aimed at ensuring an increasingly full and strict fulfilment of the principle of distributing goods according to the quantity and quality of labour, and at improving the social consumption funds; at tightening control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption, at doing away firmly with unearned incomes and attempts at using public property for egoistic ends; at eliminating unjustified distinctions in the material remuneration of equal work in various branches of the economy, at overcoming any levelling of pay, etc. Some of these proposals are reflected in the draft. Others must be carefully examined by Party, government and economic bodies, accounted for in legislative acts and decisions, and in our practical work.

The provisions of the Programme concerning the development of the people's socialist self-government have aroused considerable interest during the country-wide discussion. Unanimous support is expressed for the all-round democratization of socialist society and the maximum and effective enlistment of all the working people in running the economic, social and political processes. The concrete steps taken in this field have also been commended, and ideas expressed that the capacity of work collectives as the primary cell of immediate, direct democracy should be shown more clearly when dealing with the problems of improving the administration of the affairs of society and the state. These ideas have been taken into account.

Concern for the spiritual elevation of our society prompted suggestions that the education of Soviet people should proceed more distinctly in the spirit of communist ideals and ethical norms, and struggle against their antipodes. The Programme Commission saw fit to accept these proposals, so that the principles of lofty ideological commitment and morality should imbue the content of the provisions of the Party Programme still more fully.

Something like two million people expressed their ideas concerning the CPSU Rules. Having examined the results of the discussion, the Central Committee of the Party has deemed it essential to introduce in the draft Rules a number of substantive additions and clarifications aimed at heightening the vanguard role of the Communists, the capability of primary Party organizations, at extending inner-Party democracy, and at ensuring unflagging control over the activity of every Party organization, every Party worker.

In support of the idea of setting Communists higher standards some comrades suggest carrying out a purge to free the Party of persons whose conduct and way of life contradict our norms and ideals. I do not think there is any need for a special campaign to purge the ranks of the CPSU. Our Party is a healthy organism: it is perfecting the style and methods of its work, is eradicating formalism and red tape, and is discarding everything stagnant and conservative that interferes with our progress; in this way it is freeing itself of persons who have compromised themselves by their poor work and unworthy behaviour. The Party organizations will continue to carry out this work consistently, systematically, and unswervingly.

The new text of the Programme and also the proposed changes in the Party Rules register and develop the Bolshevik principles of Party building, the style and methods of Party work and the behavioural ethics of Communists that were elaborated by Lenin and have been tried and tested in practice.

On the whole, comrades, the discussion of the CPSU Programme and Rules has been exceptionally fruitful. It has helped to amplify many ideas and propositions, to clarify formulations and to improve wordings. Allow me, on behalf of our congress, to express profound gratitude to the Communists and all Soviet people for their businesslike and committed participation in discussing the pre-congress documents.

It is the opinion of the Central Committee of the Party that the submitted drafts, enriched by the

Party's and people's experience, correspond to the spirit of the times and to the demands of the period of history through which we are now living. They confirm our Party's fidelity to the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, they provide scientifically substantiated answers to fundamental questions of domestic and international affairs, and they give the Communists and all working people a clear perspective.

* * *

Comrades, those are the programme goals of our further development which have been submitted for the consideration of the 27th Congress.

What leads us to regard the outlined plans as being feasible? Where is the guarantee that the policy of accelerating socio-economic progress is correct and will be carried out?

First and foremost, the fact that our plans rest on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory, that they are based on the inexhaustible riches of Lenin's ideas.

The CPSU draws its strength from the enormous potentialities of socialism, from the creative efforts of the masses. At complicated turning points in history the Leninist Party has on more than one occasion demonstrated its ability to find correct roads of progress, to inspire, rally and organize the many-million masses of working people. That was the case during the revolution, in the years of peaceful constructive endeavours, of the trials of wartime and in the difficult postwar period. We are confident this will be the case in future, too.

We count on the support of the working class because the Party's policy is their policy.

We count on the support of the peasantry because the Party's policy is their policy.

We count on the support of the people's intelligentsia because the Party's policy is their policy.

We count on the support of women, young people, veterans, all social groups and all the nations and nationalities of our Soviet Motherland because the Party's policy expresses the hopes, interests and aspirations of the entire people.

We are convinced that all conscientious, honest-minded people, every Soviet patriot will support the Party's strategy of strengthening the might of our country, of making our life better, purer, fairer.

Those are the powerful social forces that stand behind the CPSU. They follow it, they have faith in the Communist Party.

The surging tide of history is now speeding towards the shallows that divide the second and third millennia. What lies ahead, beyond the shallows? Let us not prophesy. We do know, however, that the plans we are putting forward today are daring, and that our daily affairs are permeated with the spirit of socialist ethics and justice. In this troubled age the thrust of our social and, I would add, vital strategy is that people should cherish our planet, the skies above, and outer space, exploring it as the pioneers of a **peaceful** civilization, ridding life of nuclear nightmares and completely emancipating all the finest qualities of Man, that unique inhabitant of the Universe, for constructive efforts only.

The Soviet people can be confident that the Party is profoundly aware of its responsibility for our country's future, for a durable peace on earth, and for the correctness of the charted policy. The main ingredients needed to put it into practice are persistent work, unity of the Party and the people, and cohesive actions by all working people.

That is the only way we will be able to carry out the great Lenin's behest to move ever forward with united vigour and resolve. History has not given us any other destiny. But what a wonderful destiny it is, comrades!

(M.S. Gorbachev's report was followed with keen attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

the acceleration of socio-economic progress. Under her guidance dozens of young milling machine operators have achieved high standards of production efficiency.

Hero of Socialist Labour and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Nikolai Tymun has been working at the port of Odessa for more than 20 years. He now heads a youth team of dockers. He has initiated the introduction of new techniques that have substantially increased the efficiency of loading and unloading operations.

Vasily Belov, the well-known writer, has dealt in his books with a great many urgent problems relating to the future of the non-black earth areas of Russia, and M.G. Lobytov, twice honoured with the Hero of Socialist Labour award, who has been chairman of the Rodina Collective Farm for more than 30 years now, is resolving these problems in practice.

The social and professional cross-section of society represented by the delegates—among them there are workers, collective farmers, doctors, teachers, production managers, scientists and writers—bears witness to the close ties between the CPSU and all sections of Soviet society, to the fact that the Party's policy gives practical expression to their fundamental interests.

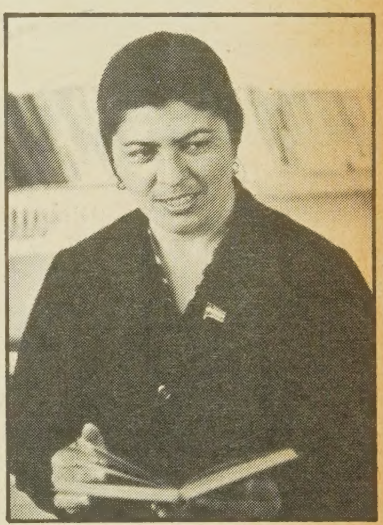
The 27th Congress coincides in time with the beginning of a recasting of the forms and methods of Party leadership and economic and organizational effort in general, in line with the course steered by the Party towards accelerating the country's social and economic development. The rate of advance can be speeded up only through a new approach to the tasks ahead, through creative labour. Experience has shown that only in this way can new impetus be given to scientific and technological progress, quality of output improved, greater economy of resources achieved, labour discipline heightened, and the principles of social justice strictly observed.

In the socialist world the workingman is not only the producer of all material and cultural values. He is the key figure around which the whole of public life revolves.

An example of an active attitude to life is being set by the delegates whom the Party has empowered to adopt decisions of utmost importance for the future of our country.

Nadezhda Taran, milling machine operator, Altai Motor Works.

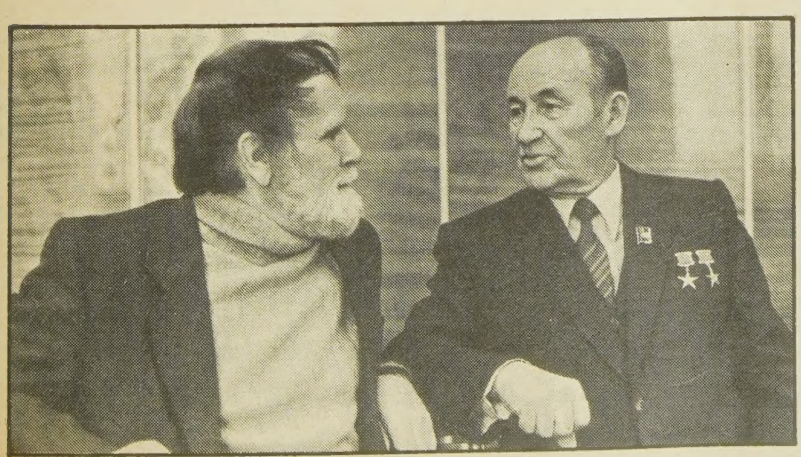
G. Muminova, cotton grower, Uzbekistan.



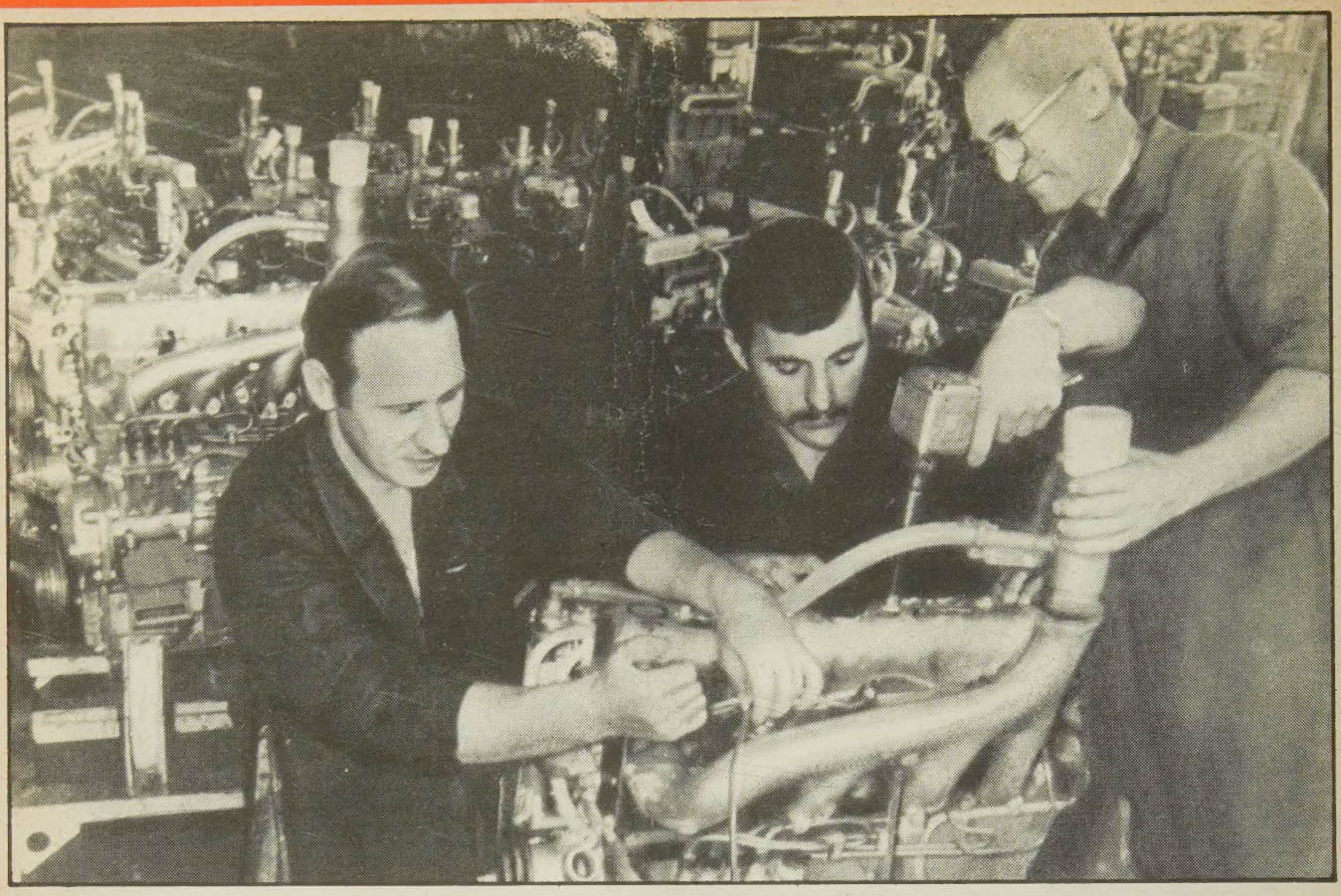
A. A. Akeyev, reindeer breeder, Kamchatka.

Hero of Socialist Labour N. A. Tymun, head of a team of dockers.

TASS photo



Vasily Belov, writer, and M.G. Lobytov, chairman of the Rodina Collective Farm, Vologda Region.



SOCIALISM LOOKS INTO THE FUTURE

One day in July 1957 a letter was delivered to the city Soviet of Dneprodzerzhinsk (formerly Kamenskoye). The envelope bore a rather unusual address—"To My Wartime Friends, Zaporozhye-Kamenskoye." The return address was equally laconic: „Czechoslovakia, Julius Skalik."

The same evening the letter was read by former members of the crew of the armoured train Soviet Ukraine of which the Czech Communist Julius Skalik had been the commander. In 1919 Skalik had been sent by the headquarters of the Southern Front to Kamenskoye to command an armoured train. He mustered a crew consisting of steelworkers of different nationalities employed at the Dnieper Steel Mill—Georgi Kovalenko, a Ukrainian, Pyotr Latyshev, a Russian, Jandowski brothers, Poles, Karl Rasch, a German, and Vasile Niculescu, a Romanian. All these men were united by dedication to a single goal: the struggle for a better future for the workingman.

"The friendship of the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples, sealed by our blood, is growing ever stronger," Julius Skalik wrote in his letter. "It is my fervent desire to see cooperation established between Czechoslovak and Soviet iron and steel workers."

Soon afterwards the workers of what is now the Dzerzhinsky Iron and Steel Mill on the Dnieper received a letter from their opposite numbers at the Trinec Steel Works in Czechoslovakia offering friendship and cooperation. This friendship and cooperation between the work collectives of these two twin plants has been steadily cemented for 30 years now.

Thousands of industrial and agricultural work collectives in the various socialist countries are jointly carrying forward the traditions of international socialist emulation. Engineering and chemical workers, miners and shipbuilders, railwaymen and light industry workers in different fraternal countries are engaged in friendly competition to ensure top quality and prompt delivery of their exports to one another.

Each of the socialist countries has accumulated rich and in many respects unique experience in resolving the tasks involved in the building of the new life. For instance, the merchant fleet of Czechoslovakia operates from Polish ports, and highly qualified specialists for it are trained in the Soviet Union. For more than two years now an international team of researchers from Cuba, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Vietnam specializing in combating corrosion and in tropicalization has been working in Havana. The Videoton factory in Szekesfehervar, Hungary, a trailblazer in Hungary's electronic industry which specializes in computers, uses sub-assemblies and components made in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Romania. A great many other instances of fraternal cooperation could be cited. This pooling of experience in the interests of all is a reflection of the constant deepening and strengthening of concerted action by the socialist countries.

The socialist world looks forward to the 21st century with confidence. The Comprehensive Programme of scientific and technological progress in the period up to the year 2000 which the countries affiliated with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance adopted last December opens wide opportunities for advance to forward positions in the economy, science and technology. Realization of the programme will give a powerful impulse to socio-economic progress in each of the fraternal countries, heighten the economic and defence potential of the socialist community, make it technologically more independent and invulnerable to hostile actions by imperialism, and further heighten the prestige and influence of socialism on the world scene.

V. GALIN

Strong bonds of friendship unite the workers of the Avia Lorry Factory in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and the Likhachov Auto Plant in Moscow. Above: Soviet and Czechoslovak auto workers compare notes at the engine tuning-up line at the Avia plant.

CTK—TASS photo